

Rosslyn Chapel:
an Icon through the ages

Volume I

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Table of contents
Volume I

p. II	<i>List of illustrations</i>
VIII	<i>Acknowledgements</i>
XII	<i>Abstract</i>

Rosslyn Chapel: an Icon through the ages

2	<i>Introduction</i>
	I. Rosslyn Chapel
4	1.1. History and description
	II. Inspired by light
16	2.1. Gandy's visions
30	2.2. The Daguerre Diorama
42	2.3. Captured lights of early photography
	III. From antiquarian to picturesque perspectives
65	3.1. The Gothistic eye
86	3.2. A highly picturesque place
	IV. Victorian restorations and controversies
101	4.1. The unmaking of pictorial beauty
114	4.2. Britton's RIBA lecture
130	4.3. The 'Antique replicas' controversy
	V. Conclusions
152	5.1. The visual interpretation
158	<i>Illustrations</i>
218	<i>Bibliography</i>

List of illustrations

1. Plan of Rosslyn Chapel.
From Rosslyn Chapel Conservation Plan by Simpson & Brown Architects.
- 2.a John Slezer, *Capella de Rosslin – The Chappel of Rosslin*.
Engraving from *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1693 [cat.61].
- 2.b James Johnston, *South side view of the Chapel*.
Engraving from *The Gentleman's and Lady's Magazine*, 1780 [cat.64].
3. Anonymous, *Rosslyn Chapel Ante 1700*.
First version of a pen drawing in Richard Augustine Hay's manuscripts *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn*. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh [cat.1.1].
4. Anonymous, *Rosslyn Chapel Ante 1700*.
Second version of a pen drawing in Richard Augustine Hay's manuscripts *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn*. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh [cat.1.2].
5. Joseph Michael Gandy, *The Tomb of Merlin*.
Watercolour, 1815. Library Drawings Collections, Royal Institute of British Architects, London.
6. Henry William Pickersgill, *Portrait of Joseph Michael Gandy*.
Pencil on paper, 1822. National Portrait Gallery, London.
7. John Burnett after Joseph Michael Gandy, *Interior view of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Engraving from J.Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1812 [cat.68.7].
8. George Shepherd after Joseph Michael Gandy, *Interior view of the Chapel from the south aisle looking towards the Lady Chapel*.
Watercolour, 1809. Victoria and Albert Museum, London [cat.10].
9. Richard Roffe after Joseph Michael Gandy, *Ground Plan of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Engraving from J.Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1812 [cat.68.1].
10. Richard Roffe after Joseph Michael Gandy, *East to west section of the Chapel*.
Engraving from J.Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1812 [cat.68.3].
11. William Dunn, *Inside view of the Chapel*.
Watercolour, 1816. Scottish Library Edinburgh City Libraries [cat.13].
12. Anonymous, *Annie Wilson*.
Etching from *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1817.
13. John Burnett after Joseph Michael Gandy, *Elevation of a part of the Chapel's south side*.
Engraving from J.Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1812 [cat.68.6].
14. *Contemporary photograph of the south porch of Rosslyn Chapel*.
(Author's photograph)

15. Joseph Michael Gandy, *Survey drawing of the south porch, window and buttress*.
Pencil and pen, 1806, from Gandy's sketchbook, Sir John Soane's Museum, London [cat.8.2].
16. Joseph Michael Gandy, *West end elevation of the Chapel*.
Pencil and pen, c.1810. From the album *Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel*, Private Collection [cat.9.6].
17. Joseph Michael Gandy, *Survey drawing of the west end elevation*.
Pencil and pen, 1806, from Gandy's sketchbook, Sir John Soane's Museum, London [cat.8.14 bis].
18. Joseph Michael Gandy, *South wall cresting and moulding sections; plan and elevation of piscina in the south aisle*.
Pencil and pen, c.1810. From the album *Documents* [cat.9.4].
19. Joseph Michael Gandy, *Survey drawing of the piscina in the south aisle*.
Pencil and pen, 1806. From Gandy's sketchbook, Sir John Soane's Museum, London [cat.8.16].
20. William Delacour, *Perspective view of the outside of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.6].
21. William Delacour, *Section of Rosslyn Chapel from North to South*.
Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.9].
22. William Delacour, *Elevation of the east end of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.4].
23. John Roffe after Joseph Michael Gandy, *Elevation of the east end of the Chapel*.
Engraving from J.Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1812 [cat.68.4].
24. William Delacour, *The prospect of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel from south east [sic for north west]*.
Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.1].
25. William Delacour, *The prospect of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel from north west [sic for south east]*.
Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.2].
26. William Delacour, *Self portrait*.
Oil on panel, c.1765. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
27. Andrew Bell, *Diagrammatic section and interior perspective view of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Engraving from *The Edinburgh Magazine*, 1761 [cat.63.1].
28. Anonymous, *View of Roslyn Chapel at the Diorama*.
Woodcut from *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and, Instruction*, 1826 [cat.74].
29. William Delacour, *Perspective view of the inside of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.7].
30. Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, *Rosslyn Chapel effect of sun [Diorama subject]*.
Oil on canvas, signed and dated 1824. Private Collection [cat.51].

31. Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, *Detail of Rosslyn Chapel effect of Sun showing the opening of a doorway on the east end wall*.
Oil on canvas, 1824. Private Collection [detail cat.51].
32. Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, *Detail of Rosslyn Chapel effect of Sun showing the hole in the piers*.
Oil on canvas, 1824. Private Collection [detail cat.51].
33. Thomas Vernon Begbie, *Stereophotograph of the Interior of Rosslyn Chapel*.
From the original glass negative n.128, City Art Centre, Edinburgh [cat.113.16].
34. George Meikle Kemp, *Rosslyn Chapel, Apprentice Pillar*.
Watercolour, 1824. Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh [cat.19].
35. George Cattermole, *Rosslyn Chapel with lectern and seated figure*.
Oil on millboard, c.1835. Sheffield Art Galleries [cat.53].
36. Thomas Higham, after George Cattermole, *Rosslyn Chapel*.
Engraving from Leitch Ritchie, *Scott and Scotland*, Edinburgh 1835 [cat.77].
37. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *West wall of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Calotype, c.1843-8. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh [cat.106.1].
38. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *Interior view of the Chapel*.
Calotype, c.1843-8. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh [cat.106.10].
39. Thomas Keith, *South porch of Rosslyn Chapel, c.1855*.
Contemporary print in the Edinburgh City Libraries from a negative in the International Museum of Photography [cat.108.1].
40. John Forbes White, *South side of Rosslyn Chapel, 1855*.
Waxed paper process, original print in the Edinburgh City Libraries [cat.109.2].
41. Roger Fenton, *South side with porch at Rosslyn Chapel*.
Albumen print, signed and dated 1856. Private Collection [cat.111].
42. Thomas Vernon Begbie, *South Aisle looking east with open door (1860-61)*.
Contemporary print from original (stereoscopic pair) glass negative n.177, City Art Centre, Edinburgh [detail cat.113.14].
43. William Dyce, *Rosslyn Chapel, view of the south aisle looking towards east*.
Oil on canvas signed and dated 1830. Private Collection [cat.56].
44. William Donaldson Clark, *South porch at Rosslyn Chapel*.
Albumen print, 1860. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh [cat.112.1].
45. Sir David Young Cameron, *South porch of the Chapel*.
Etching, 1899. Aberdeen Art Gallery [cat.96].
46. Sir David Young Cameron, *South porch of the Chapel with figure*.
Etching, 1899. Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow [cat.97].
47. Josiah Wood Whympers, *The South Porch, Rosslyn Chapel*.
Watercolour, 1858. Ruskin Foundation, Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster [cat.44].

48. James Valentine, *Rosslyn Chapel postcard marking the Apprentice Pillar with arrows*.
Albumen print glued on paper, c.1870. Private collection [cat.117.2].
49. Anonymous, *Interior view of the Choir with furniture*.
Detail of a woodcut from George Eyre-Todd, *Scotland Picturesque and Traditional*, London 1895 [cat.95].
50. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, *Sketch of frieze on north side of Rosslyn Chapel*, c.1738.
From Clerk muniments at the National Archives of Scotland [GD 18/5111].
51. Astle Thomas, *Seal of Sir William St Clair, sixth Baron of Rosslyn, in a charter of confirmation from Alexander III*.
Engraving from *An Account of the Seals of the Kings, Royal Boroughs, and Magnates of Scotland*, 1792.
52. Alexander Nasmyth, *Rosslyn Chapel and Castle*.
Oil on canvas, c.1789. Private collection [cat.50].
53. Hugh William Williams, *Rosslyn Castle from North [Chapel in the background]*.
Watercolour, 1805. Private Collection [cat.4].
54. Edward Blore, *Interior of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Engraving from Sir Walter Scott, *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland with Descriptive Illustrations*, 1826 [cat.75.2].
55. William Raymond Smith after Joseph Mallord William Turner, *View of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel*.
Engraving from Sir Walter Scott, *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland with Descriptive Illustrations*, 1826 [cat.76].
56. Joseph Mallord William Turner, *View of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel*.
Watercolour, c.1822. Indianapolis Museum of Art [cat.16].
57. John Ruskin, *Rosslyn Chapel Interior*.
Pencil on paper, 1838. Ruskin Foundation, Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster [cat.36].
58. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *The Architect William Burn at Rosslyn Chapel*.
Calotype, c.1843-1848. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh [cat.106.11].
59. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *David Roberts*.
Calotype, c.1845. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
60. David Roberts, *The Entrance to the Crypt*.
Oil on panel, 1843. Victoria and Albert Museum, London [cat.54].
61. David Roberts, *Rosslyn Chapel from north-east*.
Watercolour, c.1840. Private Collection [cat.30].
62. David Roberts, *The south porch of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Watercolour, c.1842. Private Collection [cat.31].

63. David Roberts, *The south porch of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Oil on canvas, 1845. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery [cat.55].
64. David Roberts, *The Apprentice Pillar*.
Watercolour, 1830. Victoria and Albert Museum, London [cat.29].
65. David Roberts, *Interior of Rosslyn Chapel, looking south-east*.
Watercolour, 1828. Private Collection [cat.28].
66. David Roberts, *Plan of the Chancel with red ink dotted lines showing Roberts's idea of the east-end wall*.
Pen drawing, 1846. From the album *Documents*, Private Collection [cat.34.3].
67. David Roberts, *Section of the Chancel of the Chapel*.
Pen drawing, 1846. From the album *Documents*, Private Collection [cat.34.3].
68. John Adam Houston, *Sir Walter Scott in Rosslyn Chapel*.
Watercolour, 1854. Private collection of Mr and Mrs P. Wilcockson [cat.43].
69. J.A.Bell and Joseph Clayton Bentley, *Interior view of the Chapel with Sir Walter Scott*.
Engraving, c.1840. From the album *Documents*, Private Collection [cat.83].
70. Robert William Billings, *Rosslyn Chapel. The North Aisle*.
Engraving from *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 1845 [cat.84.5].
71. Robert William Billings, *The Eastern Aisle-Rosslyn Chapel*.
Engraving from *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 1845 [cat.84.7].
72. Robert William Billings, *Rosslyn Chapel. Head of one of the East Windows*.
Engraving from *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 1845 [cat.84.3].
73. Robert William Billings, *The south side of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Engraving from *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 1845 [cat.84.2].
74. George Washington Wilson, *View of the south side*.
Albumen print, c.1870. Private Collection [cat.116.5].
75. Edward Cresy, *Three different sections of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Engraving from *Treatise on Bridge Building and on Equilibrium of Vaults and Arches*, 1839 [cat.82].
76. John Thompson, *Section through the nave with geometrical figure based upon a circle*.
Pen and wash drawing, 1840. From the album *Documents*, Private Collection [cat.38].
77. George Meikle Kemp, *Three diagrams of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Pen over pencil on paper, 1839. From the album *Documents*, Private Collection [cat.21.1].
78. William Donaldson Clark, *The Apprentice Pillar from the south aisle*.
Albumen print, 1860. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh [cat.112.2].
79. George Washington Wilson, *Interior of the Chapel, the Apprentice Pillar*.

Albumen print (from a stereoscopic pair), c.1880. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

80. Thomas Vernon Begbie, *View of the Lady Chapel looking south*, c.1861. Contemporary photograph (from a stereoscopic pair) from original glass plate negative, City of Edinburgh Art Centre [detail cat.113.17].
81. George Washington Wilson, *View of the three piers in the Lady Chapel*. Albumen print, c.1870. Private Collection [cat.116.6].
82. Photographer unknown, *Sculptor Lawrence Baxter and J. Lawrence Tweedie in the Lady Chapel during the 1860s restoration work*. Contemporary photograph from original albumen print, R.C.A.H.M.S. [cat.114].
83. George Washington Wilson, *View of the Lady Chapel's ceiling*. Albumen print, c.1870. Private Collection [cat.116.3].
84. James Valentine, *View of the lintels in the south aisle*. Albumen print glued on paper, c.1870. Private Collection [cat.117.1].
85. Samuel Bough, *Midnight Mass at Rosslyn Chapel*. Watercolour over pencil, heightened with white, 1862. Rosslyn Family Collection [cat.45].
86. Photographer unknown, *An early religious service at Rosslyn Chapel*. Contemporary photograph from original albumen print, c.1862. Private Collection [cat.115].
87. Thomas Ross, *Aerial perspective view of Rosslyn Chapel from south-east as it might have been when completed*. Watercolour, 1914. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh [cat.48.27].
88. Giovanni Franchi, *Cast of the Apprentice Pillar*, 1871. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

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Abstract

For many people and for many centuries the Collegiate Church of St Matthew in Midlothian, commonly called Rosslyn Chapel, though never completed and existing now only after a history of neglect, near ruin and restoration – sometimes too casual, at others too thorough –, stands as the most romantic and picturesque monument of late medieval Scotland. In a sense the building has become an icon of its age yet it is a monument which, as a piece of architecture that is unique, has been interpreted and understood in different ways at different times.

The primary intention of this study is two fold: to examine and record the range of historical and visual evidence that exists to sustain the perception of Rosslyn as a uniquely valuable and evocative structure; and to evaluate, through the discussion of this evidence, the changing cultural climate and understanding of the ‘meaning of architecture’ as expressed by the various images that the building has generated as an historic monument.

The study proceeds in four chapters, each investigating a different category: 1, an historical and descriptive account; 2, the visual evidence which amplifies our knowledge not only of the Chapel but also of the cultural preferences existing at different times and at different moments in British and Scottish taste; 3, the changing conceptions of the Chapel from antiquarian and picturesque perspectives; 4, the conflict of values on aesthetic, historical, or technical grounds, occasioned by the conservation of the fabric.

In such a critical analysis Rosslyn Chapel becomes a changing cultural icon for succeeding generations of architects, architectural critics and amateurs and a touchstone for essential value-judgements, made both in European and in national, Scottish terms.

*Rosslyn Chapel:
an Icon through the ages*

Introduction

For many people and for many centuries the Collegiate Church of St Matthew in Midlothian, commonly called Rosslyn Chapel, though never completed and existing now only after a history of neglect, near ruin and restoration, that was at times either too casual or too thorough, stands as the most romantic and picturesque monument of late medieval Scotland. In a sense the building has become an icon of its age yet it is a monument which, as a piece of architecture that is unique, has been interpreted and understood in different ways at different times.

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The objective of this study is a simple one: to examine as precisely as possible the changing visual language of the many representations that have been made of Rosslyn Chapel from 1693 to the early twentieth century. To explore their varied and changing meanings as historical and artistic documents and to evaluate the growing status of the building itself as an Icon of Scottish mediaeval architecture. Each image has its own integrity both as a work of art (or visual communication) while at the same time it expresses its creator's convictions as to the value of structure in itself and in its setting.

In the development of the argument I have elected to follow a thematic rather than a chronological approach as I believe our understanding of the building and of its

cultural context is better served by focusing on the specific approaches of different critics and artists at different times. Thus a theme is identified which is associated with light and illumination, another with the picturesque and antiquarian interest of the site and yet another with the practical consideration of building conservation and the related issues of authenticity and replacement.

The documentation of the images which are fundamental to this analysis is provided in a chronological catalogue (Volume II of the thesis) devoted to paintings, drawings, engravings and early photographs of Rosslyn Chapel which amounts to some 400 items.

Chapter One

Rosslyn Chapel¹

No person can enter into it, who has the smallest degree of solid thinking, without being struck with reverential awe at its august appearance.

Robert Forbes, *An Account of the Chapel of Roslin*, 1761.

1.1. History and description.

During the fifteenth century it became common practice for wealthy families to endow and establish colleges of secular canons in Scotland. They were called *Praepositurae*, or Collegiate Churches, and were governed by a dean or provost, who had jurisdiction over them. They were institutes for performing divine service, and the singing of masses for the souls of the founders, their relations and benefactors. These churches consisted of prebendaries (*praebendarii*), or canons (*canonicii*), where they had several degrees or stalls, and sat for singing during the canonical hours, and, with their dean or provost, made up the chapter. The ritual was much the same as that of the cathedral church, so that almost any form of plan was suitable, provided that provision was made for a number of different altars in appropriate positions. The most simple way of providing for a college was by making an addition to an existing church, however most collegiate churches were built on a larger scale even when the college grew from

¹ In preparing this Ph.D., it became apparent that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was little consistency in the spelling of the name Rosslyn, which has been retained by the Earl of Rosslyn. Artists, amongst whom David Roberts is a notable example, variously inscribed different works with different spellings again in correspondence. In the following chapters, I have opted for consistency and

small beginnings. In fact most patrons chose to provide an appropriate architectural setting for their foundations, particularly since the collegiate churches that they founded were usually also family burial places. Of about fifty collegiate churches founded in Scotland, many continued in use after the Reformation as parish churches, and over thirty still survive today.²

A number of these Scottish collegiate churches were cross-shaped and T-shaped in plan, presumably both because of the symbolism and for the convenience of the additional altar space.³ The choir was the essential part. It provided all the requirements to enable the service to be conducted and since this was so it sometimes happened that no attempt was made to continue the building westwards of the transepts. As a consequence many collegiate churches were left in an unfinished state. A further possible reason why few plans were fully completed may relate to the process of construction, being achieved in successive building phases and stopping when funds dried up which affected the rate of work. One of the most ambitious collegiate foundations was the church at Roslin in Midlothian where the great magnate, William Sinclair, built one the finest gems of Scottish late-gothic architecture. Although it was never more than half completed, Rosslyn Collegiate Church, commonly called Rosslyn Chapel because of its small dimensions, is unique both as a plan in the context of Scottish architectural history and as a veritable Mecca which fascinated the minds of antiquarians, historians, painters and poets. No other building in Scotland was more

used the ancient spelling of Rosslyn, except in quoted material or where the village of Roslin is being discussed.

² For a full analysis of the collegiate churches of Scotland see Richard Fawcett, *The Architectural History of Scotland. Scottish Architecture from the Accession of the Stewarts to the Reformation 1371-1560*, Edinburgh 1994, chapter five entitled 'Rural and Academic Collegiate Churches'. See also George Hay, 'The Architecture of Scottish Collegiate Churches', in Geoffrey W. S. Barrow (ed.), *The Scottish Tradition: Essays in honour of Ronald Gordon Cant*, Edinburgh 1974, pp.56-70.

³ Among these were the collegiate churches at Crichton, Biggar, Seton, Dunglass, Yester, Dalkeith, and Trinity Church in Edinburgh. For a detailed analysis of collegiate churches built to cruciform or 'T' shaped plans see Fawcett, *op.cit.*, pp.166-181.

studied than Rosslyn and it may be useful before we turn to the cultural significance of the building to describe its layout and to set out its subsequent history.

Rosslyn Chapel, or the Collegiate Church of St Matthew the Apostle, is situated a short distance from Rosslyn Castle, on a high bank overlooking the valley of the river Esk. It is said to have originally been called *Roskelyn*, a Gaelic or Erse word meaning 'a hill in a glen,'⁴ which describes exactly the position of the Chapel, and is easily recognisable in the modern Rosslyn or Roslin.⁵ According to the *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn* compiled by the Rev. Richard Augustine Hay, the Chapel was commenced in the year 1446, by William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney.⁶ At the time of foundation, Sinclair was a wealthy man and it seems clear that he must have expended considerable sums on the fabric of the church. Recently it has been shown that he was experiencing financial problems in the late 1450s and 1460s, which may have caused delays in the construction of the building.⁷ These irregularities came to a head between 1468 and 1470 when he lost the majority of his Orkney earldom, which must have placed considerable financial limitation on the realisation of his dream in stone.

⁴ Another interpretation of the word Rosslyn is given by J. Brydone, in *Brydone's Guide to Roslin, Hawthornden &c., by the North British and Peebles Railways*, Edinburgh, 1858, p.16: 'The name was anciently Rosslyn, or Roslyn, and this orthography is still retained by the noble possessors of the property. It is said to signify a *rocky eminence* and a *waterfall* and the natural appearances of the locality favour this derivation. That proportion of the Esk, indeed, which runs over a rocky and sloping channel in the immediate vicinity is still designated *The Lynn*'.

⁵ A considerable historical literature exists for Rosslyn Castle and Chapel. Key works are: *Historical and Descriptive Account of Rosslyn Chapel and Castle with Engravings*, Edinburgh 1827; Thomas Smyth Muir, *Descriptive notices of some of the ancient parochial and collegiate churches of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1848; Francis H. Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: A Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical and Historical*, vol.VI, Edinburgh 1885; James Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, London 1882. Where not otherwise noted information cited in the text is taken from these sources.

⁶ Richard Augustine Hay, *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn, Including the chartulary of Rosslyn* Edinburgh 1835, p.27. Hay's father died when he was about five years old, and his mother soon afterwards married James Sinclair of Rosslyn. The voluminous study made by Hay of the Sinclair family charters was completed in 1700, and part of it was published posthumous in 1835 by James Maidment. The edition was limited to a mere 12 (large) volumes. A smaller version was published simultaneously and limited to 108 copies, all of which are exceedingly rare. Hay's manuscripts – the principal source for the history of the Chapel – are kept in the National Library of Scotland (Adv. MS. 34.1.9.i). The charters and other formal documents related to the Rosslyn family are recopied in Adv. MS. 32.6.2., ff.3-82.

Nevertheless in this late medieval society Sinclair who wished to combine a collegiate establishment with a place of interment for himself and his successors, seems to have been an unusually enlightened employer for those working on the Chapel. He is said to have assembled a skilful workforce with men from all parts, and to have rewarded their work generously 'with a munificence well calculated to give energy to their operations'.⁸ As the building is evidently incomplete, and as there is no record of the demolition of any part of it, it is most probable that work was stopped following the death of the Earl in 1484. At that time only the choir or east end was finished, and the transept existed simply as an external wall; once stopped the work was never resumed. The whole building is remarkable for the peculiarities of its style, and for the richness of its ornament which once led commentators, quite incorrectly, to imagine that the unique nature of the design, indicated that it had been built by foreign masons.⁹

The plan of the Chapel [fig.1] takes the form of a long choir with a five-bay arcade down each side supporting a clerestory and pointed barrel vault. The east end is a closed rectangle, unusually only two bays wide, and the entire choir is surrounded by a

⁷ Barbara E. Crawford, 'Earl William Sinclair and the Building of Roslin Collegiate Church', in John Higgitt (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the diocese of St. Andrews*, [Tring] British Archaeological Association, 1994, pp.99-107.

⁸ *The Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland* (published in c.1860 without the name of any author or an exact date of publication) also states that Lord Sinclair 'built houses for the workmen to be employed in constructing the chapel, that he gave to each mason ten pounds a year, to each master-mason twenty pounds, to both an extent of land proportionate to the reward of the ability which they displayed, and to other artificers a commensurate extent of compensation and encouragement, and that, in consequence, he attracted all the best architects and sculptors from various parts of Scotland and of neighbouring kingdoms. He endowed it with various lands and revenues, and saw it rising in profuse magnificence of architecture; yet, after vast efforts and great expense, he left it unfinished'. See op.cit., p.664.

⁹ It was pointed out by Daniel Wilson in *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1851, pp.629-30, that 'many of the most remarkable features of Roslin Chapel are derived from the prevailing models of the period (when it was erected), though carried to an exuberant excess. The circular doorway and segmental porch, the dark vaulted roof, and much of the window tracery are all common to the style. Even the singular arrangement of its retro-choir, with a clustered pillar terminating the vista of the central aisle, is nearly a repetition of that of the Cathedral of St. Mungo at Glasgow. Various portions of other edifices will also be found to furnish examples of arrangement and details corresponding with those of Roslin, as in the doorway of the south porch and other features of Linlithgow St. Michael's church, and also in some parts of the beautiful ruined church of St. Bridget, Douglas. It is altogether a mistake to regard the singularly interesting church at Roslin, which even the critic enjoys while he condemns, as an exotic produced by foreign skill. Its counterparts will be more easily found in Scotland than in any other part of Europe'.

vaulted single-storey outer aisle or ambulatory which returns at right-angles across the east end. Here it becomes a double or inner and outer aisle with a second row of piers which mark the end of the choir. The external elevation is remarkable for its succession of square-sectioned buttresses projecting boldly from the aisle walls and topped by crocketed pinnacles. These have a geometric precision almost like Gothic obelisks. They contain niches for statues, though whether these were ever filled is doubtful despite the fact that both John Slezer [fig.2a, cat.61] and Father Hay [fig.3, 4, and cat.1.1-1.3] chose to illustrate them as such.¹⁰

Entry to the Chapel is provided by two doors, exactly opposite each other, one on the north, and the other on the south side. A segmental arch thrown across from one buttress to the other, forms a porch to these entrances, with a segmental triangular window above. The interior is planned as a high central space with two side aisles, separated by clustered piers, arranged in two rows, and supporting Gothic arches. Though the piers are no more than eight feet high, their capitals are adorned with foliage and curiously wrought figures, so that they produce a very imposing effect. Above them stand the clerestory windows, also beautifully carved. The pointed barrel vault of the choir is divided into five compartments, each decorated with shallow coffers whose individual panels are filled with different flowers. The entire ceiling, the bosses of the vault, the capitals, the architraves - indeed it seems the whole interior - is covered with

¹⁰ According to Robert William Billings, in 'Rosslyn Chapel Description', *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 4 vols., Edinburgh 1845-52, vol.IV, p.3: 'If all the niches which honeycomb the buttresses and pillars had each its statue, the building must have been singularly profuse in sculpture. Some of them are, however, so small and short, that it seems questionable if they can ever have been filled. Slezer's engraving of Rosslyn, more elaborate than most of his representations, depicts a multitude of images; but he is so absolutely deficient in his representation of existing details, that there is no trusting him for the non-existing. In the manuscript . . . of the zealous Father Hay . . . there is a minutely finished pen-and-ink view of the edifice as it was, or was supposed to be, before the iconoclasm. It is more minute than Slezer's, and still more abundant in statues; but it is not *so* minute and accurate as to make one believe that it represents statues that really existed. This sketch, by the way, shows the west end topped by a series of crow-steps - a statue on each step. In the same view, a circular window is represented as covering a part of the space at the east end, now covered by a modern restoration'.

sculptures representing flowers, leaves, passages of sacred history, texts of scripture and grotesque figures, all worked with extraordinary neatness. The effect is rich and bizarre.

At the south-east angle of the Chapel one pier stands out from the rest, wreathed with ascending spirals of foliage, this is known as 'The Apprentice's Pillar'. The legend, which is surely apocryphal, records the myth of an apprentice who proved a better workman than his master. In this story the master-mason of Rosslyn was unable to interpret the design of this pier from the plans furnished to him and had to go to Rome to take an accurate drawing of a similar one there. On his return he found that his apprentice had, in his absence, overcome all difficulties and that the work was already finished. Instead of being delighted at having trained such a workman, the mason was so overcome by jealousy that he immediately killed the apprentice with a blow of his hammer, and was thereafter hanged for the murder.¹¹

The double aisle across the East end of the Chapel served as a separate Lady chapel. The floor of the outer aisle is one step higher than in the other parts of the building and here, according to the charter of Lord Sinclair were four altars dedicated respectively to St Matthew, St Andrew, St Peter, and the Virgin Mary.¹² The burial-place of the Sinclair family is in a vault underneath the chapel, the entrance being under a large flagstone between the north wall and the third and fourth pillars, while a straight stair in the south-east corner bay leads down to a long crypt located outside and below the main building.

The crypt, also known as the sacristy, is a long rectangle covered by a simple barrel vault decorated by transverse and ridge ribs which have enlarged edges. The ribs

¹¹ In connection with the story, and perhaps even its recent origin, it is noteworthy that Slezer calls it 'Prince's pillar', as if named in honour of the founder of the Chapel. See John Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, London 1693, p.63.

¹² National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Adv.MS.20.3.8, ff.150r-154r, inscribed 'Charta Willielmi Sinclaire de Roselin facta Ecclesia Collegiata quidam, 1523'. This document is a late eighteenth century transcription in George Henry Hutton's hand of a charter from Hay's manuscripts.

are supported by figurative corbels some of which are painted. There is a modern altar against the east wall and a piscina in the south wall. Some of the corbelled figures, mainly representing angels, appear to be turned towards the altar. The east wall has a single chamfered lancet window, flanked by statue corbels, which have shields of arms. There is a round-headed doorway in the north wall leading to a small chamber. A similar door in the south wall leads to the outside and on the same wall appears a square-headed fire place with a roll moulding on the surround. Incised on the stone surface of the north and south walls of the crypt there are some full-sized drawings that have survived from the period of construction. These original delineations of architectural details - such as the eastern chapel's vault ribs and a pinnacle - are extremely interesting and a valuable indication of how accurately portions of the building were designed. This also suggests that the room functioned during the building of the Chapel as a mason's office.¹³

Barbara Crawford suggests a chronology of the work at Rosslyn based on the appearance of three different coats of arms.¹⁴ The first, on the south side of the window in the crypt, shows the arms of Sinclair's first wife, Elisabeth Douglas, daughter of the fourth Earl of Douglas. Her death in 1451 may indicate that the crypt was built before this date. The second, above the central pier over the high altar depicts Sinclair coat of arms alone, which might indicate that it was built before William Sinclair married his second wife Marjorie Sutherland. The third on the north wall combines the arms of Sinclair with those of his second wife. It is important to mention the fact that Lady Elisabeth Douglas is said to have taken a great interest in the building of this church,

¹³ See Robert Anderson, 'Notice of working drawings scratched on the walls of the crypt at Roslin Chapel', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol.X, 1872-4, pp.63-64.

¹⁴ Crawford, op.cit., p. 102.

especially in matters of style.¹⁵ In fact, a difference in style occurs between the crypt and the upper building, which changes suddenly from simplicity to the ornate elaboration of the arcades in the main Chapel. Though the greater simplicity of the architecture of the Crypt may well be the result of the minor role which this part of the building played within the structure as a whole it may, perhaps, not be unreasonable to infer, as Crawford suggests, that the building had only proceeded as far as the Crypt when Lady Elisabeth died and her influence ceased.

When William Sinclair died his dream of a church worthy of God's praise was only partly realised. It fell to his son and heir, Oliver Sinclair, to continue the work. His work at the Chapel consisted of roofing the choir with a stone vault.¹⁶ In 1523, William's grandson, upon his succession to the family seat, although not making any alterations to the Chapel did grant land to the provost and prebendaries for dwelling houses and gardens.¹⁷

During the last three decades of the sixteenth century there was a struggle between the Protestants and many important families which remained Roman Catholics. These years of religious strife are reflected in the history of Rosslyn Chapel.¹⁸ In February 1571 the provost and the prebendaries resigned following the violent confiscation of the endowments. The Presbytery records of Dalkeith reveal that eighteen years later Rosslyn Chapel was a 'kirk' full of 'images and uther monumentis of idolatrie,'¹⁹ which implies that the Sinclairs had not yet succumbed to the Reformation and remained

¹⁵ Crawford argues that Lady Elisabeth's interest may be assumed from the quantity of heraldic evidence relating to her family present in the Chapel.

¹⁶ Hay, *op.cit.*, p.107. Oliver is also quoted at p.33 of the same book, where no dates of birth and death are given.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.124-127.

¹⁸ In 1859 William Sinclair had one of his children baptised in the Chapel, to the fury of the protestant established church as Rosslyn was not part of a parish church; the minister who had officiated was made to beg forgiveness in public for his action. See W. McMillan, *The worship of the reformed church of Scotland 1550-1638*, London 1931, pp.254-255.

Roman Catholics. In 1592 the family was threatened with excommunication unless the altars in the family church were destroyed. At the end of August of the same year it was recorded that the altars of Rosslyn Chapel had been demolished.²⁰

From 1610 until 1638, the Episcopal Church was the established form of religion in Scotland. In this period Rosslyn Chapel lay abandoned, worship in the Chapel having ceased after the destruction of its altars. It remained unused until 1650 when Cromwellian troops, under the command of General Monk, stabled their horses in the Chapel after attacking the Castle. Despite this secular use, the building was to be violated once more at the establishment of Presbyterianism in 1688 when a mob, raised in Edinburgh, ransacked the Chapel destroying whatever was considered as idolatrous adornment. Fortunately, most of the damage caused by attacks over a hundred-year period left the main structure of the church relatively unscathed, as we can see from the first iconographic record of the building by Capitan John Slezer (c.1645-1717) whose engraved view of the *Capella de Rosslyn* was published in 1693 [fig.1, cat.61].

Nothing more is known of the Chapel until 1736, when General James St Clair removed the shutters from the outside of the windows and replaced them with clear glass. It was Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755), one of the most respected and endearing personalities among the early eighteenth century antiquaries in Scotland, who promoted the preservation of Rosslyn Chapel, encouraging General Sinclair to carry out repairs between 1738 and 1742. One of his major contributions to the history of the Chapel was the addition of a high sloping side roof made by the architect and carpenter John Baxter the elder (d.1770). The same roof was removed almost one hundred years later, when the architect William Burn was asked by the third Earl of Rosslyn, James Alexander Sinclair, to replace it by a new lower one 'rendering the appearance of the

¹⁹ James Kirk (ed.), *The Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, 1589-1596, 1640-1649*, Edinburgh 1977, p.31.

roof more in conformity with the original plan'.²¹ In 1861, Lord Rosslyn decided that Sunday services should resume at the Chapel and in a move to fulfil his intentions he employed Burn's one-time assistant and partner, David Bryce. In contrast to Burn, Bryce seems to have undertaken a more thorough repair, understandably, as he had to make the church habitable whereas Burn had only to try and halt its decay. These operations raised storms of protest and much hysterical rhetoric. The numerous disparaging reports that were written on the restoration works at Rosslyn highlight the Victorian attitude towards the preservation of the building. Nevertheless the restoration works were carried out and in April 1862 the Chapel was rededicated by the Bishop of Edinburgh.

In 1878 the fourth Earl of Rosslyn, Francis Robert Sinclair, planned an extension to the Chapel at the west front. The new structure was designed by Andrew Kerr: an Edinburgh architect who had made himself well known to the Earl thanks to a very detailed essay on the medieval history of the Chapel published the same year.²² In its external elevation this structure, shows two storeys surmounted by a cornice and parapet. Each side has two Gothic windows, one above the other, arched by hood mouldings. At each corner there are two buttresses, terminating in pinnacles with ornamental finials, and provided, like the wall spaces left between them, with niches for the reception of statues. The west end is pierced on the ground level by a doorway, flanked with two small lancet windows, and in the upper storey by a rose window. The ground floor of the new building became the baptistery, which could be reached from

²⁰ David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's 1590-1710*, Aberdeen 1998, p.55.

²¹ Letter from James Alexander Sinclair Erskine to William Burn dated 1836 (National Archives of Scotland, document GD 164/1013).

²² See Andrew Kerr, 'The Collegiate Church or Chapel of Rosslyn, its Builders, Architect, and Construction', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol.XII, 1878, pp.218-244. In the same volume of the *Proceedings* Kerr published another essay entitled 'Rosslyn Castle, its Buildings Past and Present', pp.412-424.

the Chapel by the old transept entrance, the upper portion was set apart for the accommodation of the organ and a small choir.

In 1913 the architect Robert Lorimer (1864-1929) was asked to undertake a survey of the Chapel, but unfortunately the only record of his involvement with the building is a letter in which he reported details of his findings and different action points.²³ No further documentation exists to prove whether Lorimer's recommendations were acted upon and if so by whom. The major repairs undertaken during the twentieth century were carried out by the Ministry of Works in the 1950s. On this occasion the roof on the baptistery was recovered in copper and a new oil fired heating system was installed, including the construction of a new boiler house and a tank room. This system replaced the previous coal fired system, added during Bryce's intervention. Extensive work was also undertaken to the ornate carved stone work on the interior with a 'cementitious wash' applied, that unfortunately sealed the surface of the masonry with an impermeable coating provoking a very high level of humidity in the Chapel in recent years. In 1997 Simpson and Brown Architects, currently involved in the *Rosslyn Chapel Conservation Plan*, Historic Scotland and other local firms promoted the use of a free-standing steel structure to cover the building. The 'canopy' was erected to enable the stone fabric of the roof vaults to dry outwards away from the carved interior surfaces. This super-structure, still on site, provides modern visitors with an opportunity to appreciate the building from a high vantage point. As long as this protective structure exists Rosslyn Chapel, one of the finest examples of Scottish architecture, might be said to have become a 'pocket cathedral in an earthly paradise'.²⁴

²³ Lorimer's letter is addressed to George Prentice and dated 23 September 1913 (National Archives of Scotland, document GD 164/1022/2).

²⁴ See Angelo Maggi and Helen Rosslyn, *Rosslyn Country of Painter and Poet*, exhib. cat. National Gallery of Scotland April-July 2002, Edinburgh 2002, p.21.

Countless writers have described the visual glories of Rosslyn Chapel and much has been written on the spirit that animated its erection. Some historians have dealt with economics and the politics of financing the building,²⁵ while others have analysed the geometrical layout of this late medieval structure, both in plan and elevation, thereby seeking to uncover the 'secret' of its design.²⁶ In seeking to account for its unusual richness and finish it should be remembered that this 'unfinished thought in stone' is very much a personal creation reflecting the mind and tastes of its founder.

We will probably never know the precise detail of the construction processes carried out at Rosslyn Chapel. We can however review and clarify what is definitely known; we can differentiate between speculation and hard fact; we can assess the assumptions of previous writers and draftsmen, and consider the premises on which they based their argument and at what point they were content to leave off both investigation and theorising.

Having set out briefly the factual story of this Chapel, perhaps the most celebrated architectural Icon of late medieval Scotland, we must now move on to consider developments within the context of the building itself and to examine the flux of opinions and reasoning through which William Sinclair's masterwork captured the imagination of writers, poets, architects, photographers, painters, antiquarians and scholars in different ages and for many generations.

²⁵ For a valuable account of the founder's background see Barbara Crawford, 'William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and his family: a study in the politics of survival', in K.J. Stringer (ed.), *Essays on the nobility of medieval Scotland*, Edinburgh 1985, pp.234-53.

²⁶ The romantic interpretations attaching to Rosslyn particularly relating to the Holy Grail, the Knights Templar, and Masonic rites has given rise to a large body of speculative literature. For this see: Andrew Sinclair, *The sword and the grail*, London 1994; Tim Wallace-Murphy, *The Templar legacy and the masonic inheritance within Rosslyn Chapel*, Roslin 1995; Christopher Knight and Robert Lomas, *The Hiram key: pharaohs, freemasons and the discovery of the secret scrolls of Jesus*, London 1996; Tim Wallace-Murphy and Marilyn Hopkins, *Rosslyn: guardian of the secrets of the Holy Grail*, Shaftesbury 1999. The exaggerated nature of these analyses may be characterised by the above authors' desire to identify the pattern of a Maltese Cross (!) with the main cross-section of the Chapel. This is based on Edward Cresy's and Andrew Kerr's geometrical studies of 1839 and 1878 which are discussed in the second part of this thesis [see, cat.82 and 91.2].

Chapter Two

Inspired by light

Every phenomenon of nature, or extraordinary effort of art, was formerly the parent of some strange legendary tale, or romantic story. In the gloomy ages of ignorance such occurrences were always deemed marvellous. The castle, chapel, and lairds of Roslyn were certainly calculated to amaze the illiterate, and intimidate the weak.

John Britton, *Architectural Antiquities*, 1812.

2.1. Gandy's visions.

In his article entitled 'Gandy and the Tomb of Merlin', published in 1941, John Summerson brought to light one of the most introverted figures in the history of early nineteenth-century architecture.¹ The essay, which begins with an analysis of one of the finest watercolour perspectives [fig.5] by the English draughtsman Joseph Michael Gandy (1771-1843), shows how the scene represented in the painting could be associated with a passage from Ludovico Ariosto's chivalric poem *Orlando Furioso* (1516).² Some years later, the same author described the architecture of 'Merlin's Tomb

¹ See John Summerson, 'Gandy and The Tomb of Merlin', *The Architectural Review*, vol. LXXXIX, no.532, April 1941, pp.89-90.

² According to Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533), Merlin had been imprisoned and killed by the Witch of the Lake, who had stolen his magic powers. Merlin's body and spirit, the latter being still alive, were kept inside 'un'arca di pietra dura, \ lucida e tersa, e come fiamma rossa; \ tal ch'alla stanza, ben che di sol priva, \ dava splendore il lume che n'usciva'. See Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* (1516), canto III-XV, Verona, 1963, p.47. Summerson refers to *Orlando Furioso in English heroic verse* by John Harington (London; printed by G.Miller for I.Parker, 1634) when he quotes: 'The very marble was so clear and bright, \ that though the sun no light unto it gave, \ The tomb itself did lighten all the cave'. See also the Exhibition Catalogue, *Joseph Michael Gandy 1771-1843*, London 1982.

Chamber' as 'a version of Anglo-Norman, with some reminiscences of Roslin Chapel which Gandy had measured and drawn'.³

Referring to the analysis conducted by Summerson, Brian Lukacher clarifies the similarities between the painting *The Tomb of Merlin* (1815) and Rosslyn Chapel, not only for some of its architectural aspects, but also for its legendary associations. According to Lukacher, the imaginary burial chamber which Gandy portrayed has a noteworthy source: the Scottish legend that the night before a Lord of Rosslyn died, the chapel appeared to be in flames, without sustaining any injury. He writes that 'such an unconsuming fire, a supernatural radiance prescient of life beyond death, must have been associated in Gandy's mind with the spectral glow from Merlin's tomb'.⁴

This superstition, as with so many others, takes its origin from the pen of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), who in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) recounts, in poetic tones, how Rosslyn Chapel seemed to be on fire when a death drew near for a member of the Sinclair family.

Seem'd all on fire that chapel proud,
Where Roslin's chiefs uncoffin'd lie;
Each baron, for a sable shroud,
Sheathed in his iron panoply.

Seem'd all on fire within, around,
Deep sacristy and altars pale;
Shone every pillar foliage bound,
And glimmer'd all the dead men's mail.

Blaz'd battlement, and pinnet high,
Blaz'd every rose-carved buttress fair-

³ John Summerson, 'The Vision of J.M.Gandy', *Heavenly Mansions and other essays on architecture*, New York 1963, p.129.

⁴ Brian Lukacher, *Joseph Michael Gandy: The Poetical Representation and Mythography of Architecture* (Ph.D. University of Delaware, U.M.I. Research Press 1987), p.170. By the same author see also, 'Phantasmagoria and emanations: lighting effects in the architectural fantasies of Joseph Michael Gandy', *AA Files*, vol.4, 1983, pp.40-48.

So still they blaze, when fate is nigh
The lordly line of high St Clair.⁵

A later text by Robert William Billings (1813-1874), which accompanied the plates of Rosslyn in *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (1845), gives us a logical explanation for this eerie effect. Billings explains how he was rendered speechless 'by the appearance, through the branches of the trees, of what seemed a row of bright-red smokeless furnaces,'⁶ but which was only 'a fine setting sun shining straight through the double windows of the chapel . . . The phenomenon had a powerful effect on the vision; but it was more that of ignition than of sunlight, from the rich red which often attends Scottish sunsets'.⁷ It is probable then that this remarkable 'supernatural' effect was determined by the position of the building: 'the most appropriate that could be chosen, had its builder desired to produce this effect'.⁸ Although the Chapel is located halfway down the side of a hill, there are no obstacles on the west to interrupt the lowest rays of the setting sun.

It was, no doubt, a combination of the emotional quality suggested by such phantasmagorical light effects, of the association of rich architectural forms and of the events of which they were supposed to be a testimony, which captured Gandy's visionary imagination, and persuaded him to travel from London to Scotland in September 1806 where he spent a few days preparing a detailed survey of Rosslyn Chapel.⁹ Three years later, Gandy presented at the Royal Academy of London summer

⁵ Walter Scott, 'Ballad of Rosabelle', *The Lay of the Last Minstrel: with Life and Notes*, Edinburgh 1805, canto VI, xxiii, p.148.

⁶ Robert William Billings, 'Rosslyn Chapel Description', *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, vol.IV, Edinburgh 1845-52, pp.2-3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.3.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ For a fuller explanation of Gandy's survey of the building, see Angelo Maggi, 'Poetic stones: Roslin Chapel in Gandy's sketchbook and Daguerre's Diorama', *Architectural History*, vol.42, 1999, pp.263-283.

exhibition a large watercolour depicting a corner of the choir and Lady Chapel with the stair leading to the crypt. This painting reminded the reviewer of an old woman called Annie Wilson [fig.12] – a ‘venerable damsel of Caledonian nativity’¹⁰ – who guided visitors around Rosslyn Chapel pointing out the prominent enrichments with the aid of a long mysterious divining-rod which Gandy shows leaning against the Apprentice Pillar.¹¹ Unfortunately Gandy’s painting has disappeared, but a copy of it made the same year by George Shepherd (fl.1800-1830) shows the extent to which he was intrigued by the decoration [fig.8, cat.10]. The massive pillars and vaulted arches, with a variety of foliate mouldings and chevrons, emerge from the darkness as various sources of light illuminate them to create an ethereal atmosphere. Not everyone was sympathetic to Gandy’s visionary interpretation, for instance the writer of *Monthly Retrospect of the Fine Arts* for that year catches this effect stating that ‘Gandy’s Roslin Chapel in the Exhibition of the Royal Academy of London is beautifully drawn, but too ideal in colouring and finishing for a real view’.¹² It was, however, important for Gandy to idealise all of his architectural compositions, imbuing them with an evanescent and

¹⁰ *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol.LXXXVII, part II, September 1817, p.209. Annie Wilson is wonderfully described and depicted by the correspondent of the journal as follows: ‘Annie Wilson recites the Latin Epitaphs with apparent facility; but her pronunciation is so harsh and discordant, that for an English ear it is quite unintelligible: – if any thing in the way of interruption comes across her, she commences once more her elegant demonstration, her narrative of the Apprentice’s Pillar, with “his head bearing the scar just about the brow that his master made upon it, his mother’s head represented as if bewailing the death of her son, and the apprentice’s maister’s head, just before he was hangit,” and finishes with her recitation of the Latin Epitaphs’.

¹¹ Dr Antony Todd Thomson (1778-1849), a well-known physician, during his visit to the Chapel in 1823 notes in his journal the same ‘divining-rod’: ‘After Breakfast, we proceeded to the chapel of Roslin, which is now shewn by the landlord of the inn, since the old lady, who for so many years used to repeat the story of its faded glory, had been gathered to her fathers. Mr Wilson, for that is the name of the present shewman, has too much understanding to believe one half of what he is obliged to detail. He uses a staff to point to the carvings and other features of the chapel, and told us that it was a present from Sir Walter Scott, having been the rod of office which the worthy baronet filled when the king visited Edinburgh’. I am indebted to Dr Ian Gregg for giving me the permission to quote from Thomson’s *Journal of a Vacation in Parts of England and Scotland* (1823) in his possession.

¹² National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Adv.MS. 29.4.2, f.229. The authour of this manuscript clarily states that the wordes used in the quotation are transcribed from the ‘Monthly Retrospect of the Fine Arts, Monthly May – July 1809.’ George Shepherd’s copy of Gandy’s painting is in the Print Room of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (Press-mark: 3031.76).

mysterious air, which made him one of the most favoured draughtsman in Sir John Soane's *atelier*.¹³

It seems probable that the fame which Gandy achieved with this design brought him to the attention of the architectural publisher and antiquarian John Britton (1771-1857), who invited him to draw the fourteen plates of Rosslyn Chapel [cat.68] for the third volume of *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* published in 1812.¹⁴ Britton's historical exegesis of Rosslyn Chapel dwelt on the building's anachronistic style, which he thought was manifest in its unclassifiable combination of overcharged ornament and primitive solidity. He also discussed the Masonic lore surrounding the building: the master-mason reputedly murdering his apprentice in envy over the design of the pillar, and the hallowed lineage of the Lords of Rosslyn in Scottish Freemasonry.¹⁵

Gandy's interior view of Rosslyn Chapel [fig.7, cat.68.7], an engraving of the watercolour exhibited at the Royal Academy, has many key elements that were to be reworked in his painting of *The Tomb of Merlin*. These are the same view-point, the pervasive luminosity and the definition of the architectural details.¹⁶ The other drawings executed by Gandy, that were published by Britton, ranged from an accurate plan of the building [fig.9, cat.68.1] to an extremely detailed outline section [fig.10, cat.68.3]; from scaled drawings of single architectural elements to beautiful interior perspectives and a

¹³ For the collaboration between Soane and Gandy, see Brian Lukacher, 'John Soane and his Draughtsman Joseph Michael Gandy', *Daidalos*, vol.25, September 1987, pp.51-64.

¹⁴ See J.Mordaunt Crook, 'John Britton and The Gothic Revival', in John Summerson (ed.), *Concerning Architecture, Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, London 1968, pp.98-119.

¹⁵ See John Britton, 'An Essay Towards an History and description of Roslyn Chapel, Scotland' in *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain; represented and illustrated in a series of views, elevations, plans, sections and details of various Ancient English Edifices: with Historical and Descriptive accounts of each*, vol.III, London 1812, pp.47-56. For the connections of the Chapel and Scottish Freemasonry, see: Robert Brydon, *Rosslyn. A History of The Guilds, The Masons and The Rosy Cross* Rosslyn Chapel Trust, 1994; Robert Cooper (ed.), *An Account of Roslin Chapel 1778*, Edinburgh 2000.

¹⁶ It is also important to note that many of the architectural details represented in the painting are clearly inspired by Gandy's visit to Durham Cathedral.

detailed view of the pinnacles [cat.68.8]. Though printing processes tend to weaken the effects of light on stone, Gandy managed to reproduce them and make them visible even when printed. The way Gandy manages to render the subjects of his drawings is unique and his work became a source of inspiration and factual information for future illustrators.¹⁷

According to Britton the Chapel 'awakened the enthusiasm' of Gandy's genius; and it was 'highly creditable to this artist, that he did not leave the spot till he had stored his sketch book with all the architectural parts of the chapel, as well as general views of the surrounding scenery'.¹⁸ If we think of the difficulty of executing a detailed survey of a building which is so rich in its ornament, the comment seems more than justified. The sketchbook which Britton mentions, recently acquired by Sir John Soane's Museum,¹⁹ is a wonderful demonstration of Gandy as a 'scientific antiquary' in his approach to the building and provides, within its modest format, the source material both for his illustrations of the *Architectural Antiquities*, and as well as for his magnificent 'Rosslynesque' watercolour, the celebrated *Tomb of Merlin*. Through a comparative analysis of the plates published in 1812 and the sketches made six years before, it is possible to understand the key elements that struck Gandy's imagination, and above all to follow the evolution of his plates.

For Gandy, the need to revisit the sacred and mystical traditions of this building provoked a patent search for authoritative references for his visionary works. It is exactly this visionary style which affects his exterior views: here the result is that the

¹⁷ Beyond the plates published by Billings, Gandy's influence can be seen in the designs of John Lessells and E.F.C. Clarke [cat.89-90] published in *The Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland*, session 1862-63, in which we are presented with a series of architectural details in a portion of the work entitled 'Roslin Chapel, shown in some of its more peculiar characteristics' (RCAHMS: National Monuments Record of Scotland, RIAS Engraving Books 1.12).

¹⁸ Britton, op.cit., p.47.

¹⁹ Gandy's sketchbook, purchased at Sotheby's, 15 July 1999, is now kept at the Sir John's Museum as vol.161.

artist decides to concentrate in one single illustration the most striking parts of the Chapel. Thus the observer is made to appreciate the splendour of the work even if it does not correspond precisely to the truth. Some of the plates, in fact, are a conglomeration of striking elements, far removed from modern ideas of architectural accuracy. We should not blame Gandy however for over-embellishing his prints of the building or for having changed part of its essence, especially when we consider the taste of the collectors for whom the plates were intended. It is the genius of Gandy that in fact the whole process of embellishment, or fakery, in the image is almost imperceptible. Only the closest attention to detail can allow us to unravel the architectural imposition that he presents. As a good architect, Gandy studies every single detail, fusing all together in a taste which, with a gratifying logic, though inaccurate respects the historic identity of the building. In the view entitled *Roslyn Chapel, Elevation of part of the South side* [fig.13, cat.68.6], for example, Gandy inserts a small window that interrupts the base course in order to show us an interesting architectural feature that appears three bays further on. Also in the same view he chooses to crown the south wall with architectural finishes: a delicate stone cresting and cusp, arched battlements both of which come from a different location on the East end walls.

This architectural *collage* characterises also the measured drawings contained in the sketchbook where the artist, guided by the refinement of the most elaborately carved parts of the Chapel, sketches different details that he was to assemble later on. One of the most interesting elements with which he seems to play is the circular finial. In the Chapel there exist three of them and they are all positioned on the north wall. In the published view there appears only one which is positioned by Gandy on the arch over

the south door.²⁰ In the sketchbook however, this motif is accompanied by two others in a single crowning decorative element [fig.15, cat.8.2]. Once again the composition of the details on paper does not correspond with the reality in stone [fig.14]; rather this *capriccio* helps us to understand the overall content of the Chapel.²¹

Gandy therefore organises every object and episode inside a balanced visual construction, establishing the means of arriving at the most convenient solution. Nothing is impossible, so long as every alteration is pursued with clarity and is consistently based on an actual object. The high pitched roof on the aisle for example, despite being in place when Gandy visited the Chapel in 1806, is not shown in any of his views.²² For this reason, at times, he also omits the clerestory windows as the presence of the roof made it impossible to verify the measurements of what was hidden below. The only suggestion that the roof was in place were the pencil sketches that were never redrawn in pen.²³

²⁰ In reference to this, Gandy, in his sketchbook, clarifies the origin of this detail, writing: 'This one [related to the circular finial] remain[s] at North Door', f.20 verso [London, Sir John Soane's Museum, vol.161].

²¹ Gandy was not the only architect to distort the original appearance of Rosslyn Chapel and the functionality of all its parts. George Meikle Kemp (1794-1844), the architect of the Scott Monument, made a watercolour view of the Apprentice Pillar seen from the south aisle. This image goes well beyond the architectural truth: a panelled loggia, for which there is, and never has been, any evidence, is inserted in the final part of the Lady Chapel above the entrance to the Crypt [fig.34, cat.19]. Another architectural fantasist, enthralled by the mediaeval beauties of Rosslyn, is the English painter George Cattermole (1800-1868), who worked for John Britton, producing finely worked views of many extant British churches. His oil painting Rosslyn Chapel [fig.35, cat.53], provides a new hypothesis, not previously noted in the history of the building, for the existence of some form of screening between the nave and the aisle. The masonry wall on which the artist adds a piscina, taken either from the west wall or from one of the entrances to the Chapel, is part of his fictional depiction.

²² In addition to the evidence of the crease line on the building, a series of engravings published immediately before and after Gandy's views make it clear that the aisles and Lady Chapel were covered in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century by a high pitch roof rising to a peak in the front of the East window of the clerestory. The most important are: the engravings of Sparrow published in Francis Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland*, 2 vols., London 1790; and the lithographs of Thomas Mann Baynes in *Twenty Views of the City Environs of Edinburgh*, London 1823. Edward Blore, in his plates of Rosslyn Chapel for Walter Scott's *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (2 vols., London 1826), shows clearly how the roof covered more than half of the clerestory windows.

²³ All of the drawings in the sketchbook were originally made in pencil. Later on Gandy chose the most interesting drawings to trace over in pen. In this way, his first impressions, recorded on site, were filtered through a radical selection process that he later used for his published images.

When Gandy described the building as a 'combination of Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, and Saracenic styles,'²⁴ he did not intend to reduce Rosslyn Chapel to a bizarre eclectic agglomeration of parts, but rather to extol it as one of the most astonishing architectural compositions ever realised. And it is for this reason that his rendering of the facts even if they are not archaeologically precise, can be considered as an interpretation of the original appearance of the building and of the functionality of all its parts. In contrast to this way of depicting the architecture, Gandy's work is topographically accurate in the series of five plates representing the pinnacles, pedestal columns, canopies, brackets in front of the buttresses, and the tracery and mouldings of different windows. All of them are rigorously numbered and indicated in the general plan of the Chapel, permitting the reader to position and reconstruct exactly every single part of the building through a simple comparison of the plates. This graphic correlation between plan, section and details is even more accentuated in the sketchbook, where the artist appears to have superimposed his measured annotation one on top of the other almost like acetate transparencies. In the page devoted to 'The Apprentice Pillar' [cat.8.8], the section of the pier with an elevation and details of mouldings are intermingled while they appear with greater order in the published plate [cat.68.2].²⁵

An album entitled 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel',²⁶ which came to light during research for the Rosslyn exhibition at the National Gallery of Scotland, offers a

²⁴ J. Britton, *Architectural Antiquities*, op.cit., p.49.

²⁵ In the same sketch, Gandy provides notes on the colour of the stone which assumes a 'General tone of Colour Bronze Green mixed with, tints filled with Brown and Black': Gandy's Sketchbook (London, Sir John Soane's Museum), f.23 verso.

²⁶ The date when the album was offered for sale is not clear. From the *List of catalogue of English Book sales 1676-1900* (London, 1915), at p.277, it seems that soon after John Britton died his literary and manuscript collections were offered for sale on 4 May 1857 - viz. - 'John Britton's, Library. Autograph and other Manuscripts Collection. Priced - 4 May 1857. S. Leigh Sotheby & John Wilkinson - 3 Wellington Street, Strand'. The British Library holds a copy of the sale catalogue in which appears the following description: '263 - Britton J. His collection towards a separate publication on the History and Antiquities of Roslyn Chapel, *prepared for binding*. This interesting collection is accompanied with several original sketches, numerous engravings, and autograph letters from David Roberts, W.Burn, Dr

unique collection of papers related to Britton's involvement with Rosslyn and the publication of the plates of the Chapel by Gandy in the *Architectural Antiquities*.²⁷ In a recent article on the Gandy Sketchbook Ian Goodall and Margaret Richardson voiced their concern that there are insufficient drawings in the sketchbook to serve as basis for all fourteen plates published in the *Architectural Antiquities*.²⁸ The album 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel' goes further towards supplying the missing information and sheds new light on other planned images which, in the event, were not to be published by Britton. There is no doubt that twelve of the drawings contained in the album are by Gandy's hand. Further comparisons with what he recorded while at Rosslyn in 1806 clearly identifies their source. For instance the album contains an ink over pencil drawing – apparently the preparatory design for a supposed engraved plate - of the west end elevation of the Chapel [fig.16, cat.9.6], which corresponds with the measured drawing Gandy made of it on the reverse side of page 27 in his sketchbook [fig.17, cat.8.14bis]. Another comparison can be made with the sketchbook drawing of the

Irving and others'. It should be noted however that at this time the material relating to Rosslyn was in a case folder and not in the present binding.

The history of the sale of Britton's books is complicated however by an entry in the web site www.bl.uk which records a different sale which was apparently part of a series of disposals made in 1846 when Britton was 75 years old. Nonetheless the British Library catalogue cited above seems to make clear that Britton retained the Rosslyn material, as a matter of interest to himself, until his death.

An auctioneer's label, of a second sale, stuck inside the front cover of the present album reads as follows: '854. Roslin Chapel - Interesting Collection of MSS (1806-1846) relating to the History and the Structure of Roslin Chapel comprising extensive Autograph Letters (4) by *David Roberts*, *Joseph Gandy*, folio 2pp. *George M. Kemp* folio 4 pp. with a sectional sketch. *David Irving* (2), *William Burn* (1), *John Dundas* and notes probably by *John Britton*; accompanied by 46 original sketches (a few signed by Gandy) and engravings. Bound in folio volume, calf'.

The album was purchased by Sir Hew Hamilton-Darlymple (1814-1887) whose book plate is also attached inside the front cover and carries a number written in pencil, 976. This may refer to the second sale or was perhaps a number relating to Darlymple's library. Later the album was acquired by Canon George Heb[b] Taylor, who was Chaplain at Rosslyn until 1963. Taylor, who had a tremendous interest in the building, is remembered for bringing together a very active congregation at Rosslyn. Mrs Joan B. Taylor recently found the volume in her father-in-law's collection. The essential fact relating to the history and contents of the album are given in Angelo Maggi, 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel: a recently discovered collection of papers by John Britton', *Architectural Heritage*, vol.XIII, 2002, pp.73-98.

²⁷ There is no written evidence in the volume of Britton being the owner of this collection, but we can easily assume, since he was the recipient of most or indeed all of the letters, that it was he or someone for him who collated the material.

piscina near the south door entrance [fig.19, cat.8.16] and the measured drawing of what Gandy records as 'Window No.13' [cat.8.10]. In the album these two images become clean and neat ink drawings ready to be engraved [fig.18, cat.9.4, 9.11, 9.12]. When such careful preliminary work had been undertaken for these designs, it seems important to ask why these drawings were never published?

The drawings executed by Gandy, that were published by Britton, ranged from two plans of the Chapel, an elevation of the south side, two interior perspectives to several drawings of architectural elements numbered according to a survey sequence. We can note that the style of the first nine plates [cat.68.1-68.9] and the last five plates [cat.68.10-68.14] is slightly different. It would appear that at a certain point the engraving of the architectural plates was stopped, then being replaced by a peculiar and rather odd collage of numbered architectural details which the last five plates represent. Some of these details appear in the sketchbook with a different set of numbers, but most of them do not. This suggests that Britton may have gone back to Rosslyn on his own account, possibly accompanied by another draughtsman. Indeed the only letter in the album by Gandy confirms that he never managed to complete the survey and, in referring to his perspective view of the interior, he suggested that Britton should make a rubbing on the architrave joining the Apprentice Pillar to the south wall.

The form of the letter on the Ribbon of the Beam seen in my perspective view of the inside has more of the Saxon or Saracen character, the letters being interwoven. I had not time to copy them when at Roslin but I hope you will be able to obtain their correct forms

²⁸ Ian Goodall and Margaret Richardson, 'A Recently Discovered Gandy Sketchbook', *Architectural History, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol.44, 2001, p.55.

by getting someone to press paper over them using black chalk to rub on the paper on the parts which project.²⁹

That the survey was not completed cannot entirely explain why some fine quality drawings by Gandy did not appear in the final edition of the work. For example it is odd that the east elevation was published while the other three elevations, which were prepared as drawings, were never engraved. A letter to Britton recently discovered by Brian Lukacher, clearly written at least six years later than the aforementioned letter by Gandy, suggests some friction between the artist and the publisher. On a visit to Liverpool Gandy had spent some time with 'the Gentleman who bought the view of the inside of the Chapel' exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1809. He had been at a dinner, where the Mayor of Liverpool was present, and the assembled company had looked at the plates of Rosslyn published in Britton's book of 1812. No doubt it was possibly the wine talking, but on this occasion the people of Liverpool were not slow to point out the very superior qualities of Gandy's draughtsmanship, presumably present in the drawing which this 'Gentleman' had purchased, over its transcription in the published plates. Someone even suggested that it 'would ruin a reputation'; subsequently Gandy naively asked Britton whether it would be possible to remove his name from the plates since he was 'ashamed to see it so much disgraced'.³⁰ Since the book was published and the

²⁹ 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel', letter to John Britton from Joseph Michael Gandy, dated 17 December 1806, f.2. The inscription on the architrave running above the stairs to the crypt is in Lombardic letters. It reads: 'Forte est vinu[m]. Fortior est rex. Fortiores sunt mulieres: sup[er] om[nia] vincit veritas', meaning 'Wine is strong. The king is stronger. Women are stronger still: but truth conquers all'. It is important to note that the quotation is taken from the Latin Bible, or 'Vulgate', which was translated by Eusebius Hieronymus (b.345 AD) from the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament. The full translation became the standard version of the Bible used in the Roman Catholic Churches for over one and a half millennia. The Vulgate includes several Non-Canonical books like 3 Esdras which inspired the authors of this Latin inscription. The full and original version from the Vulgate reads as follows: 'unus scriptis: fortius est vinum. alius scripsit: fortior est rex. tertius autem scripsit: fortiores sunt mulieres, super omnia autem vincit veritas'. (3 Esdras 3: 10-12).

³⁰ Collection Frits Lugt, Fondation Custodia, Paris 1998 A 666. I. The letter is not dated, but we can assume that it was written soon after the publication of the third volume of the *Architectural Antiquities* in 1812.

plates already issued, the request was impossible and Britton can hardly have been pleased by Gandy's observation. Nor will he have been gratified by the following detailed complaint:

The section has not been much attended to, the twisted column has not the character of the view, it represents laurel leaves instead of rich carved work of another figure, the upper windows are totally wrong and mistaken. They were originally like the lower windows.³¹

However, the *Architectural Antiquities* had already been published so it was far too late to remedy the mistaken parts, but although the plates were printed, Britton returned to Rosslyn, and Gandy, who writes in a demanding and uncompromising way in his early assertions, ends the letter in surprisingly friendly terms:

I am glad to hear you are going to Roslyn. It will be a high treat, do not forget to make a drawing of . . . the inscription on one of the Stone Beams inside the Chapel, the letters in the shield on the uppermost cornice outside North, and if you have time take some sketches of the Castle which is very curious and of the same style and date with the Chapel in a plainer manner, the doors and windows being singularly ornamented. You had better take a draftsman with you for it. For if I mistake not [you] will be so fascinated, you will leave the spot reluctantly and not have time to finish your intentions.³²

It is intriguing to consider that after a 'ruined reputation' Gandy kept in touch with Britton and exchanged ideas for his other 'intentions', perhaps a separate

³¹ *Ibid.* For the section discussed in the letter see cat.68.3.

³² *Ibid.*

publication on Scottish architectural features, in which Rosslyn Chapel was set to become a key point. It may therefore be suggested that there is hitherto an unknown aspect of their relationship still unrecognised. If correct, it demonstrates that Britton's approach to the building was entirely subject to Gandy's influence. The visionary architect was astonished by the unexpected beauty of the intricate ornament at Rosslyn. The *lumière mystérieuse* advocated by his patron John Soane was a tangible reality in the legends of the Chapel. The result is not mere antiquarian reproduction, but visual synthesis of a profoundly original character.

2.2. The Daguerre Diorama.

According to John Britton, Rosslyn Chapel was certainly 'calculated to amaze the illiterate, and intimidate the weak'.³³ Exactly these sentiments might be said to have inspired Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1789-1851), another person who was to promote the extraordinary interest of Rosslyn to the British public, when contriving the construction of his celebrated and popular *tour de force*, the Diorama of Rosslyn Chapel. Daguerre was famous for his stage sets and especially for his lighting effects long before he was to be immortalised by his experiments with photography and the daguerreotype. He believed that the Chapel, with its phantasmagorical effects, offered an ideal subject for a dioramic illusion and that the legends linked to the Chapel would be sure to attract large numbers of visitors.³⁴

The Diorama, first presented to the public in 1822, was a form of visual and almost theatrical public entertainment that reached the peak of its popularity in Britain in the late Regency period.³⁵ It was an ideal medium for dramatic visual presentations and depicted scenes by colour applied to a large transparent screen which was lit by a variety of different sources. The illusion of reality and of a changing spectacle was produced by lighting changes.³⁶ One of its most interesting features, apart from the complicated lighting arrangements, was the proximity of the audience to the enormous screen which could be as much as 22 metres wide by 14 metres high. The pictures had to remain stationary while the auditorium, a cylindrical room with a single opening in

³³ Britton, op.cit., p.52.

³⁴ See Angelo Maggi, 'Daguerre e le suggestioni della Rosslyn Chapel', *Fotostorica. Gli Archivi della Fotografia*, no.3/4, April 1999, pp.32-35.

³⁵ For a discussion of how a Diorama worked, see R. Derek Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s', *History of Photography*, vol.17, no.3, Autumn 1993, pp.284-295.

³⁶ See Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: the Industrialisation of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 1988, p.216.

the wall like the proscenium of a stage, was slowly revolved from one picture to another.³⁷

Daguerre's Diorama of the interior of Rosslyn Chapel entitled *L'Abbaye de Roslyn, effet de soleil* was exhibited at Paris in 1824, and in London in 1826.³⁸ At both exhibitions it was accompanied by a second Scottish subject, a view of the 'Nave of Holyrood Abbey in Edinburgh by moonlight'. Press comments in France are really evocative: '*Monsieur Daguerre nous donne un effet de soleil ravissant ..., les rayons du soleil qui paraissent par intervalles en dessinant sur le corps les ombres portées, le reflet qui règne dans l'intérieur, sont si justes que nous avons cru un moment qu'ils étaient produits par la nature*'.³⁹ The first mention of the Rosslyn Diorama in a Scottish paper appears in the *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1826. Here a correspondent from London describes for a friend his experience of the building seen only with the aid of 'mechanical contrivance' and without any knowledge of the actual edifice.

The Diorama pictures, opened only about a week since, are interesting. One of them - a view of the interior of Roslin Chapel, by Daguerre - is decidedly the best that has been exhibited. Independent, indeed, of any aid from mechanical contrivance, it is a most finished and extraordinary painting. The effect of the trees, seen through the windows on the right hand of the Chapel, sparkling when the sun bursts out upon them, is absolutely magical. And yet, perhaps, this is inferior as a work of art - as every thing I ever recollect to have seen is in execution - except Rembrandt - to the side opposite, where the building is in shade, the eye absolutely, upon deliberation, seems to penetrate into darkness, and to

³⁷ On the Diorama techniques see: G.Bapts, *Essai sur l'histoire des Panoramas et des Dioramas*, Paris 1891; A.T.Gill, 'The London Diorama', *History of Photography*, vol.I, January 1977, pp.31-33; Richard Daniel Altick, *The Shows of London*, Cambridge Mass. and London 1978, chap.IX; Bernard Comment, *The Panorama*, London 1999, chap.IV.

³⁸ Helmut & Alison Gernsheim, *L.J.M.Daguerre, The History of the Diorama and the Daguerreotype*, London 1956, pp.176,178.

³⁹ *Le Corsaire*, 25 Septembre 1824, quoted in Georges Potonniée, *Daguerre Peintre et Décorateur*, Paris 1935 (reprint 1989), p.82.

discover objects, after a time, which at first were not visible. From your acquaintance with the reality, I am sure you will be delighted when you see it.⁴⁰

An important visual record to survive of the Rosslyn Diorama is an engraving [fig.28, cat.74] in a magazine of the time, *The Mirror of Literature*, for March 1826. Enthusiastic comment on the extraordinary effects of the scene runs as follows:

The view of Roslyn Chapel was painted by M.Daguerre, and it surpasses every representation of an architectural structure we ever saw - a Scotchman would drop on his knees before it, and no person would believe that the variety of light and shade - the management of the rays of the sun reflected through a half opened door, the cobweb tinge of the window - the beam of timber and the loose cord, together with the mixture of light and shade which it displays are the mere effect of art; yet such is the case, and we are sure it requires no prophetic ken to say, that Roslyn Chapel will be one of the most attractive features of the most fascinating exhibition ever opened in London within our knowledge.⁴¹

The article that accompanies the illustration contains a detailed architectural description of the Chapel and is written in tones of high praise:

... of the view of it at the Diorama it is more difficult to speak for we can scarcely expect our readers to believe that persons who have seen this chapel and observed it well, on viewing the Diorama might think themselves transported by some magic spell to the scene itself - so perfect is the illusion; indeed we know an artist though eminent not in one branch, but in a general knowledge of the arts, who declared that had he not clearly

⁴⁰ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. XIX, no.CXI, April 1826, p.467.

⁴¹ 'View of Roslyn Chapel, at the Diorama', in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, no.CLXXXV, Saturday 4 March 1826, p.132.

ascertained that the view of Roslyn Chapel was a painting on a flat surface, he would not have believed but the effect was produced by more than one position of the scene, or rather by many scenes placed in different positions, yet such is not the case; the illusion, however, is so extraordinary that connoisseurs and even artists may be excused for scepticism on the subject.⁴²

What caused most amazement and interest was the extraordinary illusion and brilliant illumination of the show: the building, flooded by intense sunlight, appeared suddenly in the dark hall, the Diorama being accompanied by an ancient Scottish tune played on bagpipes. The popularity of the subject was certainly enhanced by the success of Walter Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. There are in fact strong connections between the techniques used by a Diorama and Scott's literary style. Like a Diorama, Scott's literary descriptions are constructed with an optical conception. In them the variation of light is strong, unexpected and often has supernatural overtones. Thus architecture has a fundamental function in establishing the identity of place, in the definition of local character and in fluctuations of weather.⁴³

Much of the impact of the view of Roslyn was, no doubt, due to the fact that the London Diorama had been closed for some months and was reopened in February 1826 with Daguerre's view as its principal exhibit. *The Times* too dedicated a lengthy article to the splendid effect of *The Interior of Roslyn Chapel*:

The beauty of this elegant ruin is very much heightened by the manner in which the light is introduced from an open door and ruined window, on the right side of the picture. From the window the sunlight issues in a bright stream, but is intercepted in some degree by the foliage of some shrubs growing without, and is reflected upon the jamb of the arch in

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ See Renzo Dubbini, *Geografie dello Sguardo, Visione e paesaggio in età moderna*, Torino 1994, p.104.

which the window is built. The sparkling brilliancy of the leaves is imitated in a manner which seems to go beyond the power of painting. The door beyond it is standing open, and a broad mass of sun-shine falls through it upon the broken floor of the chapel. By one of the contrivances [sic] peculiar to this species of exhibition, this light is made to fade and disappear, as if caused by a cloud passing over the sun; but the effect of the delusion, which it produces, surpasses every thing of the kind that has been yet attempted; - it is perfectly magical. An open door at the extreme end of the chapel, looks into a small garden, and is so disposed as to convey an idea of the length of the chapel. The feature we have just mentioned is the most striking, and will be the most popular in this diorama; but it is not its greatest excellence. As a painting alone, the scene is entitled to great praise, and in this respect the left aile [sic], which is in total shade, possesses extraordinary merit. The dim light which, obscured by the decayed and overgrown window, falls in a thin cold stream upon the more distant side of the pillars, is painted with the utmost fidelity and nicety. The *chiaro'scuro* of the more distant parts of the same ailes [sic] has been expressed in a manner which must astonish as well as delight every one who can appreciate the great difficulty of the subject. To descend to less important parts of the picture, all the circumstances which accompany ruins of this kind are given with sticking accuracy. A basket, some broken stones, the fragments on the floor, a scaffold and some ropes, with the abrupt and scattered lights that fall upon them, aid the notion of reality which the rest of the scenes excites. The ruin is in itself remarkable for being one of the most elegant specimen of florid architecture, in its internal decorations, which our kingdom contains . . . Upon the whole we consider this view to be decidedly the best that has yet been exhibited, and so good, that for excellence of painting, for force of illusion, we cannot believe it will be possible to surpass it.⁴⁴

A Diorama building opened in Edinburgh in Lothian Road at the end of 1827. The building, which also housed a lithographic establishment, was designed for programmes

⁴⁴ From: 'The Diorama' in *The Times*, Tuesday 21 February 1826, p.4.

showing only one Diorama picture per time. Scottish people had to wait almost ten years to appreciate the Rosslyn entertainment before it reached Edinburgh. And even then it was never confirmed that the Lothian Road Diorama of Rosslyn was the one painted by Daguerre in Paris and exhibited in London.⁴⁵ In 1825, in fact, a reviewer in the *Caledonian Mercury* reported on an unnamed young artist of Edinburgh, who 'has not to boast of the borrowed name of a French artist to procure visitors,' and that he was 'engaged in bringing out a View of . . . the Interior of Rosslyn Chapel; for the exhibition of which an appropriate building will be erected'.⁴⁶ According to the historian R. Derek Wood, the Edinburgh artist involved in painting a diorama of the same subject as that done in Paris could only have been David Roberts (1796-1864). Roberts seems to have been commissioned to produce copies rather than bring the original painting up from London. This 'rival version' of the Rosslyn Diorama painting was also exhibited in Dublin in 1828 and in Liverpool in 1829.⁴⁷

Debate centres around the sources influential on Daguerre's spectacular depiction of Rosslyn Chapel. It seems likely that he studied Gandy's views and measured drawings which had been published fifteen years earlier, and that in devising his own work he made use of their accuracy and studied their lighting effects. Another source available to the artist was *An Inside Perspective view of the Chapel of Roslin* [fig.27, cat.63.1] drawn by the engraver Andrew Bell (1726-1806) and published with Forbes's 'Account of the Chapel of Roslin' in 1761.⁴⁸ Daguerre could also have had access to a

⁴⁵ The advertisements for the *Interior of Roslin Chapel* at the Diorama in Lothian Road were placed regularly in the *Caledonian Mercury* between 18 April 1835 and 24 October 1835, when it is recorded that 'the view of the Interior of Roslin Chapel will positively close on Saturday the 31st October instantly'.

⁴⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 February 1825, p.3.

⁴⁷ R. Derek Wood, op.cit., p.293.

⁴⁸ Robert Forbes, 'An Account of the Chapel of Roslin & c. Most respectfully inscribed to William St Clare of Roslin, Esq. Representative of the Princely Founder and Endower ...', *The Edinburgh Magazine*, vol.5, January 1761, pp.2-53. Bell's *Perspective View of the Chapel* is a geometrically correct perspective construction of the building in the taste of the architectural treatises of the time. The way of designing on a plane surface the representations of the vault and the flooring suggests use of a grid as an aid to the

series of drawings, executed in the same year as the publication of Bell's engraving, by the French painter and scenographer William Delacour (d.1768).

Between 1760 and 1767 William Delacour held the first appointment as Master of the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh, the school newly established by the Board of Manufacturers to improve the quality of design in Scotland and ultimately the forerunner of Edinburgh College of Art.⁴⁹ After a period working in London, Delacour settled in Edinburgh in 1757 where he produced landscapes for use in stage scenery and architectural settings. John Adam commissioned a series of landscape panels in 1758 for Lord Milton's house in Edinburgh. In 1761 Delacour painted his most complete surviving decorative scheme for the fourth Marquess of Tweeddale in the Saloon at Yester House, where he provided seven large landscapes painted in distemper upon cloth, which are signed and dated: 'W.De la Cour 1761'. Delacour also worked in watercolour, using a broad style and a rococo interpretation of landscape, although he was equally capable of precise topographical views, especially when intended for engraving.⁵⁰

Delacour's drawings of Rosslyn Chapel [cat.2.3-2.9] exhibit a certain rigidity in their graphic definition, so much so that every elaborate ornament in the original is eliminated. While this simplification makes the architectural structure of the building clearer, the process of elimination has also led to some mistakes. For instance, in the drawing titled *Elevation of the East end of the Chapel* [fig.22, cat.2.4] the French

composition. This severe application of the principles of perspective projection of shadows and reflections makes the Chapel higher than its real dimension. Antiquarians like George Paton (1721-1807) and Richard Gough (1735-1809) collected several copies of this engraving as soon as it was published.

⁴⁹ The announcement of Delacour's appointment and the establishment of the School of Design is given in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for July 12 and 14, 1760: 'The commissioners and trustees for improving Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland do hereby advertise that by an agreement with Mr De la Cour, painter, he has opened a school in this city for persons of both sexes that shall be presented to him by the trustees, whom he is to teach gratis the Art of Drawing for the use of manufactures; . . . Mr De la Cour is likewise to teach the art of drawing to all persons that choose to attend his school at one guinea per quarter'. Quoted in D.F.Fraser-Harris, 'William De la Cour, Painter, Engraver and Teacher of Drawing' in *The Scottish Bookman*, vol.I, no.5, January 1936, pp.15-16.

⁵⁰ Julian Halsby, *Scottish Watercolours 1740-1940*, London 1989, p.24.

painter eliminated the side buttresses together with their pinnacles, but they reappear incorrectly in the North to South Section [fig.21, cat.2.9]. Delacour's pictorial simplification becomes more topographically precise in his picturesque views of the Chapel and the Castle [fig.24, 25, cat.2.1, 2.2]. It is evident that drawing, as an instrument, not only has the function of preserving a record of the building, but also of contributing immeasurably to the image of the place. All the elements in the landscape are recorded accurately; for example the bridge of the Castle on the river Esk, the ruined arch in the distant view of the Chapel through the foliage, all bear great significance, and they are skilfully used by Delacour to create a picturesque scene.

A comparison between Delacour's *Perspective View of the Inside of Roslin Chapel* [fig.29, cat.2.7] and the woodcut of the view of Rosslyn Chapel taken from Daguerre's Diorama [fig.28, cat.74], reveals similarities: both the wood-engraver of Daguerre's Diorama and Delacour show the interior of the Chapel in a perspective which greatly exaggerates its actual length. Since the drawing by Delacour was part of the collection of George III, transferred to the British Museum after the king's death in 1820, it would seem likely that the anonymous London engraver had access to it there and was able to base his own design on it. This would go some way to explaining the extreme similarities in the two views however this element is not, in itself, sufficient to prove that the one is based on the other or that Daguerre had made use of Delacour's perspective view for his own representation. The Diorama *Roslyn Chapel, effect of Sun*, being addressed to a mass audience, had the important and particularly effective function of arousing curiosity about the place itself, thanks to the new sense of stunning reality created by the manipulation of the image of a building. Is it possible then that Daguerre though a Frenchman, or perhaps someone working for him, visited and recorded the Chapel in person?

Daguerre started his career as a painter of stage scenery. He did not abandon traditional pictorial techniques completely. Despite the success he achieved, he made only a few oil-paintings representing Diorama subjects. The oil-painting *The Interior of Roslyn Abbey* [sic], which was on display at the Salon of 1824, seems to have followed the Diorama in Paris, and for this reason cannot be considered a preparatory study for it. Paintings of this type constituted a sort of exercise of representing identical subjects with different techniques, either for the artist's own use or it may be that they were sold in the wake of the success of the views exhibited at the Diorama itself.

Yet a nagging suspicion remains that Daguerre must have visited Scotland. Helmut Gernsheim, in his *History of Photography*, has argued that the precise detail in the Diorama and in the oil painting of the *Ruins of Holyrood Chapel, by Moonlight* (1825) is only to be explained by Daguerre's use of a camera obscura while working at Holyrood itself.⁵¹ However Daguerre is not known to have been in Scotland and by 1816 the tracery in the east window which he shows ruined had in fact been repaired. However the writer of the pamphlet describing the Diorama in Regent's Park, entitled *Two Views, Holyrood Chapel etc.*, observed that Daguerre choose to show the tracery unrepaired to give a more picturesque effect.⁵² If Daguerre's visit to Holyrood Chapel is doubtful, the question arises as to how he could paint and create a Diorama from it. The same question can be posed about Rosslyn Chapel: how could Daguerre paint it in such detail and arouse such enthusiasm in his London audience, without ever visiting it or making a drawing of it?

⁵¹ Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography; from the Camera to the Beginning of the Modern Era*, London 1969, p.66.

⁵² The title is *Two Views: Ruins of Holyrood Chapel, A Moonlight Scene painted by M. Daguerre and the Cathedral of Chartres by M. Bouton in the Diorama of London, Regents Park*, G. Shulze, London 1825, p.4 (London: British Library 1359.d.6). Regarding the oil painting by Daguerre, *Ruins of Holyrood Chapel by Moonlight* in the Walker Art Gallery of Liverpool, see *A Guide of Pictures in the Walker Art Gallery Liverpool*, Liverpool 1980, pp.50-51; see also Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clío. A study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth Century Britain and France*, Cambridge Mass. 1984, p.56.

As presented earlier the only visual evidence, until now, of the Rosslyn Diorama was the engraving that appeared in London papers in 1826, where the discrepancy with the reality of the structure itself cannot prove Daguerre's presence at the Chapel. The answer could only be hidden behind the history of the execution of the Rosslyn oil painting exhibited at the Salon in 1824 and for many years considered lost. Architectural historians and lovers of pioneering photography are fortunate that the very oil painting by Daguerre representing the Rosslyn Diorama has recently come to light [fig.30, cat.51]. As Helmut Gernsheim would have said if he had known this painting, it is 'remarkably realistic' and in a reproduction might appear 'at first sight be taken for an actual photograph'.⁵³ The whole canvas in fact displays astonishing 'photographic' detail, lighting, and perspective treatment.

An intricate and detailed perspective painting of a complex building such as Rosslyn Chapel cannot be achieved without a great deal of careful planning. Daguerre in this oil painting subtly manipulated the building's real dimensions to make the scale more impressive, raising the pointed arches in the foreground while making the distant arches lower and shortening the height of the figures. The intended effect succeeds in making the Chapel seem vast, dwarfing the three Knight Templars contemplating the stone flags laid by two workmen.⁵⁴

These 'liberties' taken by Daguerre in his painting of the interior are determined by a dual concern: first, for perspective – the convincing depiction of three dimensional space – and second for the effectiveness of the picture, as an aesthetically satisfying composition. Each of the elements is persuasive, and in combination provide a virtually

⁵³ These are the words that Gernsheim uses to describe Daguerre's oil painting of the Holyrood Diorama, in Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *L.J.M.Daguerre*, op.cit., p.25.

⁵⁴ The architect Edward Blore (1787-1879) in his plate of the *Interior of Rosslyn Chapel* [cat.75.2] for Sir Walter Scott's *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* will adopt the same point of view. As in Daguerre the view of the interior is drawn in a way that alters the height of the Chapel. This lack of proportion is actually caused by the presence of a few visitors, which were drawn according to a

comprehensive understanding of the building as it stands. Although wishing to record the salient features of the Chapel and to capture its subjective 'feel', Daguerre added to the composition a few imaginary architectural features which never existed in the actual building. One is the 'North' doorway shown open at the east end [fig.31] which, together with the exaggerated cusping of the transverse ribs of the roof, give added variety to the spatial patterns and effectively emphasises the sense of height and depth.

New evidence on the 'Daguerre problem' is provided by the Scottish Victorian photographer Thomas Vernon Begbie (1840-1915) who took many photographs of Rosslyn Chapel, both before, during, and after the building's restoration in 1860-61.⁵⁵ Begbie's photographs of the building, more than forty exposures, were taken to record the progress of the restoration works. Now in some of these negatives - Neg.128 for example - a series of rectangular holes in the piers appear at the same height [fig.33, cat.113.16]. Though these holes were to be filled by new masonry during the restoration, they are clearly shown in the right arcade in Daguerre's painting of the interior of Rosslyn Chapel, just as they appear in the photographs taken more than thirty years later. No artists before Daguerre ever showed this detail in their pictorial compositions. The visual evidence is irrefutable: either Daguerre went to Scotland himself or made use of a draughtsman sent to the Chapel specifically to record its existing state.

The intricate and mysterious decoration, together with the poetic manipulation of the masonry, which is Roslin Chapel in its very essence, is celebrated by Daguerre - in an imaginary and transfigured fashion - as a work of supreme art in which the artist can exhibit and explore to the full his particular interests as revolutionary scene-painter. His

false perspective scale. It is interesting to note that Blore's plate was published in June 1826, soon after the Diorama was presented in London.

⁵⁵ David Patterson and Joe Rock, *Thomas Begbie's Edinburgh: A Mid-Victorian Portrait*, Edinburgh 1992, p.15. The complete collection of the original glass plates by Begbie is kept in City Art Centre of Edinburgh. The 1860s restoration of the Chapel is discussed in chapter 4.3 of this thesis.

interpretations are not limited simply to its physical representation but equally are intended to invest the monument with new and unexpected meanings. With these dynamic and allusive images, the remarkable vision of Rosslyn Chapel, in all its light effects, attractive power and architectural licence, is set before us as an architectural creation which, from its very origins, must be considered as existing and extending beyond the bounds of any actual or limited reality.

2.3. Captured lights of early photography.

Early in the second half of the nineteenth century, when painters were still fascinated by the extraordinary artistic potential of Rosslyn Chapel, the simultaneous discoveries of William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) and Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre in 1839 were to revolutionise the way of perceiving and representing architecture. Photography was able to make an exactly repeatable pictorial statement about the shapes and surfaces of things and for this reason it became a medium which competed directly with the realism pursued by many artists of the period. An article dedicated to early photographic discoveries published in *The Scotsman* reported that the photographer - described as an artist – ‘cannot fail to tell the truth; he can neither flatter nor detract from the appearance of the object which is presented to him; he is merely a secondary agent, and the work is painted with a pencil of light’.⁵⁶

With the discovery of the etching processes of light on a prepared chemical surface, Daguerre, who had earlier exhibited the Rosslyn diorama in 1826, developed the ‘daguerrotype’: a photographic process which gave a single positive image. In a daguerrotype there was no negative and no way, except by copying the original, that duplicates could be made. The process was complicated but the quality was high. The uniqueness of the picture was proclaimed as one of its advantages: it was as much a peerless work of art as a miniature painting. The daguerrotype’s chief rival in the race to become the established process of photography was the British calotype. Invented by Fox-Talbot, the calotype produced a negative from which any number of prints could be made. The image was of cruder quality, but the benefit of multiple printing from a single

⁵⁶ The near contemporary article is quoted by John Hannavy in, *The Victorian Professional Photographer*, Aylesbury 1980, p.8.

negative would establish it, and not the daguerrotype as the basis from which all modern photographic techniques were to evolve.

A curious historical circumstance was to promote Scotland as a country in which early photography developed. This was the existence of patents to limit the use both of the daguerrotype and calotype in England which did not apply north of the border. In England the rights to Daguerre's discoveries were purchased by a certain entrepreneur, Richard Beard, who patented the process and required a licence fee from any person who made use of it. In Scotland, where Beard's patent did not apply, all photographic processes were free. As a result, Scottish amateur photographers had a unique opportunity to play an important role. It is one thing for a professional to pay a licence fee to secure a means of earning his living but quite another for an amateur to be faced with high costs merely to enjoy a hobby. Later in the nineteenth century patent restrictions on amateur use were lifted but the only way a professional could avoid this cost was to work in an area not covered by the patent. Fox-Talbot, like Beard, had patented his calotype discoveries in England but not in Scotland. These factors favoured the development of photography in Scotland generally where Edinburgh was destined to become the city where the practice of this art developed to the highest level and in these developments the romantic architecture of Rosslyn had a significant part to play.⁵⁷

The main contribution of the calotype to the art of photography is in the work of two Scottish photographers, David Octavius Hill (1802-1870) and Robert Adamson (1821-1848). Their topographical views of Scotland and their documentation of early-

⁵⁷ According to Stevenson: 'The legal process of taking out a patent was lengthy and expensive, and although Scotland was officially joined to England by the Act of Union of 1707, it still had a separate legal system, which would require Talbot to pay twice for protection. Since Scotland was a smaller and poorer country than England, it was less likely to repay the cost. In practice, Scottish photography benefited from this useful fact, not simply in terms of commercial profit but because the Scots were free to experiment with a number of processes and inventions patented in England, which included the Daguerreotype'. Sara Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, New Haven and London 2002, p.166.

Victorian Scottish life, particularly in their portrait work, mark the high point which this early photographic process could achieve. Hill was a pupil of the Edinburgh painter Alexander Nasmyth, and later became Secretary to the emergent Royal Scottish Academy. Whereas Nasmyth made the transition from a portrait painter to a landscape specialist, Hill's career developed in something of the opposite direction as he began experimenting with photography primarily as a direct form of reproduction for his painting. Adamson, whose background was more technical and scientific, was responsible for the photographic processes, leaving the artistic arrangements of the sitters to Hill.

Capturing with the camera a 'motionless architectural scene' was easier than transforming the result of the exposure which included a living subject. It should be remembered that in these early days of the calotype, exposures of ten minutes or more were common, and although Hill gives his images an air of immediacy, like a snapshot, we can see that his figure subjects are carefully posed to reduce the physical strain. Rosslyn Chapel is revealed in not less than ten calotypes. In one of these views, for example, a figure who may be identified as the architect William Burn is shown with his right arm supporting his head, leaning against the south doorway [fig.58, cat.106.11]; in another an unknown man is seated in the unglazed East-end window and has wobbled his head which appears as a fuzz [cat.106.9]; and in two views, which include two small boys, Hill includes a group where the children's arms are either close in to their body, in the lap or supporting the head - never pointing in dramatic painterly fashion or outstretched [cat.106.7, 106.8]. These are posed on each other for support but Hill does it so well that the effect seems completely natural, while the Chapel itself becomes part of the pictorial representation. We should also recognise that essential aspects of the artistic effects of the images are attributable to the manipulation of the technical

processes by Adamson. It is significant that Hill's later photographic endeavours achieve nothing like the same artistry. The partnership between the two men, a true pooling of talents, ended in January 1848 with Robert Adamson's premature death.⁵⁸

What was often regarded as a weakness of the calotype by comparison with the Daguerrotype was its lack of definition. Hill, as a painter, was perceptively able to exploit the calotype as a medium in its own right and not as an inferior substitute for the Daguerrotype. The graininess and limited tonality inherent in the calotype imposes a unity on the composition which invites the viewer to regard each work in its entirety, whereas with the pin-sharp Daguerrotype it is easy to lose this sense of the whole by becoming preoccupied with the details. This is quite evident in the *West wall of Rosslyn Chapel* taken in 1844 [fig.37, cat.106.1]. This photograph shows the west wall and part of the north transept, which marks the end of the building. The contrast between the highly finished carving of the wall, the green foreground and the sky is too great for the paper to handle, transforming this calotype into a surreal, veiled composition in which leaves and grass are recorded as featureless and the architectural details are difficult to focus. It is clear that Hill came to regard the calotype as an interpretative rather than a descriptive medium. Whether he considered it as a worthy alternative to painting is difficult to say. He just admitted that his connection with this 'art' was purely that of an artist, and astonished by its powerful effect he affirmed: 'I know not the process though it is done under my nose continually and I believe I never will'.⁵⁹

According to the photographic historian and photographer Richard Pare, in Hill's view of the *West wall of Rosslyn Chapel* there is a meaning of space that would not be

⁵⁸ See Sara Stevenson, *David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, Catalogue of their calotypes taken between 1843 and 1847 in the collection of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*, Edinburgh 1981, pp.210-211. All the calotypes of Rosslyn Chapel are kept in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, see 'Landscapes calotypes no.15-25, 96' [cat.106].

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Among recent studies, see Sara Stevenson, *Facing the Light. The Photography of Hill & Adamson*, exhib. cat. Scottish National Portrait Gallery May - September 2002, Edinburgh 2002.

displaced even by the stunning clarity of the later photographic process. His 'rhapsodic and romantic interpretation' of this private and contemplative image runs as follows:

The photograph of Roslin Chapel is only nominally a picture of the chapel. Though the building takes up almost half of the area of the picture's space, the extremely oblique vantage point impacts the architectural information to such a degree that the picture is not so much an examination of the ruins of the building as it is a meditation on the nature of the place, its past and its present. We see it enshrouded in creeping ivy and sheltered by an ancient stand of trees.⁶⁰

The exterior of the Chapel was one of the sites of Hill and Adamson's early experimental work, and a location ideally suited for photography. The ornate pinnacles and the charming segmental arch on the south side well exposed to the noonday sunlight provided a truly romantic setting for another Edinburgh's pioneer photographer, Dr Thomas Keith, who worked intensively at his hobby between the years 1845 and 1857.⁶¹

The comparison between Hill and Adamson's work and Keith's early experiments does more than just suggest a link. There can be little doubt that in these photographs Keith is simply imitating two established masters of photography for whom he doubtless had a considerable respect. The opportunity to repeat the Rosslyn Chapel experimental image, coupled with the romantic potential of this ancient church, made it an obvious choice for his early work. The fact that he could also copy the work of Hill and Adamson, and thus experience many of the problems which they must also have encountered, would have made the exercise doubly beneficial. In a comparison, the

⁶⁰ Richard Pare (ed.), *Photography and Architecture (1839-1939)*, Centre Canadien D'Architecture/ Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal 1982, p.14.

⁶¹ See John Hannavy, *Thomas Keith's Scotland, the work of a Victorian amateur photographer (1852-57)*, Edinburgh 1981. See also [Charles Sinclair Minto], *Thomas Keith 1827-1895: Surgeon and Photographer*, Edinburgh 1966.

strong Keith image [cat.108.2] evokes different reactions from the slightly oblique more distant view of the Chapel by Hill and Adamson [cat.106.6].

The approach is totally direct and clearly ahead of its time. The figures are gone and the image relies for its success solely on the lighting conditions and the framing of the subject to produce a more descriptive account of the place itself. Keith's pictures, at first unspectacular and yet attractive, involve the viewer more and more - the mysterious blackness of the interior of the Chapel the small entrance seen through the heavy gloom of the nave, the strong angular shapes, all combine to produce a fascinating study.

Keith's photography which made use of the new waxed paper process - a later variant of the calotype process in which the negative was made clearer by waxing the paper before treating it with chemicals - was capable of finer detail and was therefore better quality. Furthermore this process gave the photographer the facility of being able to pick up a small amount of equipment and go out whenever the weather was suitable. It is interesting to note the architectural accuracy of the photographs. We know that if the shape of a building is to be maintained, the camera has to be kept absolutely level. Keith knew clearly how to solve vertical convergence as a distortion and therefore went to considerable lengths to ensure that it played no part in his picture-making. In many cases he appears to have used tall tripods, or high viewpoints to ensure that the building is of a recognisable shape. To him control was the essence of success yet for many in the art world he seemed to be offering clear proof that photography was not an art. Many painters claimed that, as photography was solely dependent on light, the photographer need only be an unskilled intermediary. Photographers often retorted that painting was likewise dependent solely on pigments and brushes. Many considered that, if photography was to be regarded as an art form, its role must be that of an imitator producing photographically what had hitherto been produced by the artist's brush. To

Keith and others, the dual role of photography - as record but also as creative image - seems to be quite clear. The problems of equating and uniting the two offered a set of challenges which he willingly accepted.

Keith's understanding of lighting and his ability to control its effect is faultless. In his photographs he reveals a sympathy with his subject matter which hitherto had never been demonstrated as effectively. Even Hill and Adamson had only rarely deviated from a particular quality of lighting and they had been much more immediately concerned with the juxtaposition of figures and objects than with the quality of the light falling upon them. While for other photographers light merely made their photography possible, for Thomas Keith it was often the very reason for the photograph. Others merely lit their compositions, for Keith the character of the light itself became a vital part of the photographic composition, and was often its inspiration. His work is, at the same time, topographical and elemental. It conveys the atmosphere and the essence of the place without necessarily describing its physical attributes.

Keith's pictures of Rosslyn Chapel are not very descriptive but could become a simple geometric pattern. In his view of the south doorway, shown in strong lighting [fig.39, cat.108.1], the stark outline of the doorway itself, opening into the blackness beyond and into the churchyard through the opposite door, is transformed into a wonderful piece of design. The segmental arch stands alone amidst blackness to concentrate and focus attention on its ornate stonework. This use of strong oblique lighting helped Keith to isolate his subject from its surroundings and thus to accentuate it. No other lighting conditions would have produced such an evocative statement on the delightful chapel. No other contemporary process could have conveyed that feeling so completely. The other photographs form part of an extensive series of lighting variations on the architectural details of the south side from which Keith doubtless learnt a great

deal during his early experiments. Again in these glimpses of the Chapel the skilful use of light emphasises and enhances the image; weight and tone is used to make statements that are both clear and decisive. Through his pictures Rosslyn Chapel could be seen as never before.

Another person who was to demonstrate an extraordinary photographic interest in Rosslyn was Thomas Keith's brother-in-law John Forbes White (1831-1904).⁶² Keith communicated much of his own enthusiasm and expertise to White. It therefore seems desirable to give some account of his contemporary work: Keith's earliest dated photographs are of 1854, White's of 1855; both men worked by the waxed paper negative process which, at the time, was giving way to the collodion on glass method invented by Frederick Scott Archer (1813-1857).⁶³

A particularly fine print of Rosslyn Chapel is in the Central Library in Edinburgh [fig.40, cat.109.2]. It is the extraordinary resemblance of this photograph of Rosslyn Chapel to the photographs of the same subject in the Keith collection, that suggests a probable, perhaps even a certain connection between the two men. According to his daughter, White became acquainted with Keith during his university days.⁶⁴ There was initially something of a teacher/pupil relationship between the two brothers-in-law, with Keith, the elder, acting as the instructor and initiator. White however was soon as good as his master, as is clear from his early negatives dated to 1855. His picture of the south doorway of the chapel is very close to the one taken by Keith [cat.109.1]. Both images are constructed with a singularly hard light, exploiting the contrast of the light and dark

⁶² See Dorothea H. Fyfe and Charles Sinclair Minto, *John Forbes White miller, collector, photographer 1831-1904*, Edinburgh 1970.

⁶³ The collodion was a transparent film of gun cotton dissolved in ether and containing potassium iodide spread over a glass negative. Wet collodion was sensitised on the spot and developed immediately giving a high resolution of detail. This idea was successfully utilised by Gustave Le Gray (1820-82) in France, and by Frederick Scott Archer in England, who both made wet collodion negatives during the period 1849-51, although Archer was the first to publish details, which first appeared in the March 1851 issue of *The Chemist*.

sides of the arch against the slope of the shadow and changing the shape of the carved segmental arch with light on the top and with dark on the lower part - making a Gothic geometry of the picture to match and emphasise the stone reality. It is worth noting however that White's image is cropped on the top and the bottom and so it appears less composed. Excursions were probably made together, with the two enthusiasts operating in the field with very similar, if not identical equipment, producing negatives up to 12"x10" in size. The paper negative preparation was laborious; exposure in the camera - supported on a heavy and rigid stand - took from two to four minutes in favourable light; and the development of the individual negative took up to an hour and printing off the best part of the day if the weather was dull.

Taking pictures of the south side of the Chapel, Keith and White progressed greatly using it as a means of creating atmosphere rather than merely of varying appearances. The buttresses appear under strong sun, teaching the photographers much about the quality of the medium with which they were working. Architectural features are clearly defined, always within carefully considered compositions, where the special and tonal relationships are totally controlled. As their photography was confined to what little spare time they had, their ideal conditions were initially enforced rather than created. It is, however, certain that they learned fully to understand and exploit these conditions, turning practical necessity into a particular aesthetic which became an integral part of their vision. Very early in their short involvement with photography the two men had learned that lighting, used carelessly, can detract and confuse: used skilfully, it can raise even an apparently mundane subject to the highest levels of beauty.

Another important figure of the nineteenth-century history of photography who was enchanted by the ancient and decorative character of Rosslyn was the Englishman,

⁶⁴ See Ina Mary Harrower, *John Forbes White*, Edinburgh 1918, p.30.

Roger Fenton (1819-1869).⁶⁵ Fenton's studies of architecture were almost certainly influenced by his attitude to architecture and the arts in general, and perhaps most of all by his experience in Paris in the 1840s. While in France he would have been aware of the work of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) and the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* in France, and the publications of John Ruskin in England, of the revival of interest in both late medieval architecture and the preservation of ancient monuments. In Paris, in October 1851, Fenton visited the headquarters of the *Société Héliographique*, where he met the French photographer Gustave Le Gray (1820-1882) who produced several waxed-paper negatives taken by himself for the *Commission des Monuments Historiques*. The recognition in France of the value of preserving historic buildings and of the role that photography could play in this, had led the French government to commission photographers to document important regional sites. Fenton must have been all too aware of the contrast between this and practices in Britain, where the documentation, preservation and conservation of ancient monuments remained a predominately antiquarian and amateur pursuit and where it was left to amateur societies, such as the Photographic Society or the Architectural Photographic Association, founded in the 1850s, to promote the potential of photography for this kind of historical documentation.

On his first trip to Scotland in 1856, Fenton visited and photographed Rosslyn Chapel between the two phases of the restoration. There are only two images of Fenton's precious photo-reportage and both represent the Chapel's south porch [fig.41, cat.110,111]. One of them, where the use of the figure to emphasise scale is perfect both

⁶⁵ See Valerie Lloyd, *Roger Fenton Photographer of the 1850s*, exhib. cat. Hayward Gallery London February-April 1988, London 1988; see also John Hannavy, *Roger Fenton of Crimble Hall*, Boston 1976; an essay on the photographer by Richard Pare appears in *Roger Fenton* (Aperture Masters of Photography series, no.4), New York 1987.

in positioning and effect, is superb. The artistic merit of the picture depends on, and is enhanced by, its sheer technical excellence.⁶⁶

The phrases ‘the camera never lies!’ and ‘photography, the instructor of the architect’⁶⁷ express clearly the favourite prejudices of those in the architectural field who sought to replace the hand-drawn image with the much more powerful and more convincing photographic report. In Scotland this interest in the capacity of a ‘perfect’ record of the conditions of a building aroused enthusiasm in David Bryce, appointed in 1860 as ‘architect of the restoration at Rosslyn’. The art historian Joe Rock in his studies on the Scottish Victorian photographer Thomas Vernon Begbie notes that: ‘there is a large group of negatives of Rosslyn Chapel, obviously taken over a period of time and recording the building before and during its restoration in 1860-61, under the guidance of David Bryce’.⁶⁸ The architect probably asked Begbie to record different parts of Chapel with more than forty exposures. According to *The Builder*, almost all the carving was re-tooled and sharpened.⁶⁹ Begbie’s photographs of the interior and of the details may have been of use in determining what, if any, damage occurred.

As reported above, it is interesting to note that in some of these negatives a row of holes, all at the same height, appears in the piers - Neg.125, 177, 386 and 428 [cat.113.15, 113.14, 113.26, 113.19]. These photographs, taken before the holes were filled during the restoration, provide new evidence - not previously noted in the architectural history of the Chapel - for the existence of some form of screen between

⁶⁶ This historic photograph of Rosslyn Chapel fetched \$ 58,700 at Christie’s auction on May 1997 - a world record for a British photo. It was bought by an American art dealer for around four times the original sales estimate.

⁶⁷ See ‘Photography the Instructor of the Architect; and Architecture the best subject for the Photographer’, in *The British Journal of Photography*, vol.VII, no.112, 15 February 1860, p.52.

⁶⁸ Patterson and Rock, op.cit., p.[15]. For a catalogue of Begbie’s photographs in the Edinburgh City Art Center see cat.113 in vol.II of this thesis.

⁶⁹ ‘The Restoration at Roslin Chapel’, *The Builder*, vol.XIX, 29 June 1861, p.443. An anonymous photograph in the NMRS [fig.82, cat.114] shows Rosslyn Chapel during the restoration with the sculptor Lawrence Baxter (standing) and J. Lawrence Tweedie (on the left) [NMRS no. 39081 copied in 1995].

the nave and the aisles. This hypothesis will confirm a stronger similarity between Rosslyn Chapel and Glasgow Cathedral where a wooden screening existed to separate the central choir from the ambulatory. The fact that Rosslyn Chapel was divided in two different parts, a central choir for the functions and an ambulatory leading to the Lady Chapel or the Crypt, makes much more sense as a late gothic plan than the open plan which appears today. In this sense Begbie's work becomes an extraordinary *reportage* that clarifies in a scientific way the condition of the Chapel before the restoration, and the architectural evidence of the building itself.

The large number of negatives by Begbie of Rosslyn Chapel, could also suggest that he may have had a concession to sell photographs of the building.⁷⁰ The negatives were produced using Archer's wet collodion process, but not before Begbie had tried albumen (egg white), which was introduced in 1848 as support for the silver iodide emulsion.⁷¹ From the evidence of his notes on the edges of some negatives, we know that Begbie used dextrine, a solution made from boiled starch. What the photographer did not perhaps realise is that dextrine is also a polariser and this may explain the extreme contrast of some of his negatives.⁷²

Begbie also photographed Rosslyn Chapel with a stereoscopic camera. The stereoscope was the most significant form of visual imagery in the nineteenth century.⁷³ The stereoscopic or 3-D pictures at first were produced using the daguerrotype process and were expensive to make. The advent of paper print and glass negatives brought the

⁷⁰ Note that the National Monument Record of Scotland has an album [NMRS Album no.50] of an 'imitator of D.O.Hill' in which the eight albumen prints representing Rosslyn Chapel and Castle are by Begbie. This results evident from a comparison between the images in this album and Begbie's glass negatives collection at the City Art Centre.

⁷¹ The albumen paper, the standard printing paper for photographs of the period, was so named for the egg white which was used to bind the light-sensitive chemicals to the paper base.

⁷² See Patterson and Rock, *op.cit.*, p.[15].

⁷³ For the technical and cultural history of the stereoscope, see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge Mass. 1996, pp.116-136.

price down considerably and made these ingenious little toys available to a much wider public. Two photographs taken by two lenses, the same distance apart as the human eyes, when viewed together in a special viewer gave the effect of three dimensions. Almost every middle-class Victorian household had a stereo viewer of one sort or another by the end of the 1850s. Stereo cards with paper prints were the commonest. However, glass stereo slides, to be viewed by either reflected or transmitted light, and transparent paper views were all available. Stereo 'diorama' views were a novelty of the late 1850s which achieved considerable popularity. These made use of the fact that the thin paper could transmit light. By reflected light the viewer was shown a daylight view of the place or building. As transmitted light was allowed through the paper, the daylight faded to be replaced by a moon and a dark heavy sky. The advantage of the stereo camera was that its small size and small lens allowed much shorter exposure times, thereby permitting more pictures to be taken in a working day. Moreover since the exposure times themselves were greatly reduced truly instantaneous pictures were possible for the first time.

One of Begbie's stereophotographs taken in the south aisle of the Chapel [cat.113.19] shows two different instantaneous exposures: one with no human scale, a clear architectural scene, and another one in which a 'rough' figure appears illuminated by a strong beam of light creating a suggestive *contrejour* effect at the edge of the open door and the rest of the aisle. These are not to be considered photographic failures but a precise will of the photographer testing the depth of field with his own camera. On the other hand we know all the experimental materials Begbie used to create mellow and partially not-focused images of the Chapel. These 'polarised interpretations' of the south side of the Chapel are made to give a new visual effect producing little impression of depth: through a stereoscope viewer the observer will not appreciate the 'realism' of the

three-dimensional solidity of the facade, but he will be catapulted into new visual phenomena in which the perception of space is perceived by impressions of light and shade. In these two images [cat.113.1, 113.2] the pronounced stereoscopic effect depends on the presence of figures located in the middle ground. Here to organise the image as a sequence of receding planes, Begbie places the figures between the two doors across the Chapel and repeats the experiment in a second exposure where only one figure is used and the second door is closed. There are some similarities between Begbie's use of the stereoscope and classical stage design, which synthesises flat and real extensive space into an illusory scene. As with theatrical space, where the movement of actors on a stage generally rationalises the relationship between the points, Begbie makes use of 'moving' figures to create a deeper perspective.

As well as the experimental images of the exterior, Begbie generated some fine images of the Chapel's interior. One of the problems posed by any exposure in this spacious but dark interior was the need to balance the light coming in through the windows to avoid losing too much of the highlight detail. Optical deficiencies in the lenses become readily apparent where the low light levels caused photographers to use wide apertures. In fact, in the stereo view of the nave [cat.113.26] the architectural detail around the upper window is washed out, like a halo, and this effect was produced by interior reflections within the lens. The device of containing this binocular perspective within two circular frames contrives to create a very stimulating visual effect [see also cat.113.12, 113.24].

Most of the famous photographers of the 1860s and 1870s dabbled with stereo images since the demand for these views was so great that they were guaranteed to sell whatever they produced. No matter how banal the subject, if it was in 3-D someone would buy it and marvel at the reality they could see through the twin lenses of the

viewer. One of the great figures of commercial stereoscopic photography in Scotland was George Washington Wilson (1823-1893) the Aberdeen photographer.⁷⁴ Wilson was particularly concerned to avoid what has been called 'the toy effect', and used longer-focused lenses to achieve 'a much more natural and life-sized effect'.⁷⁵ Much technical information comes from Wilson's own writings in *The British Journal of Photography* where he explains his working methods.⁷⁶ On stereophotography he writes: 'I am never satisfied unless I can get objects comprehended, even in a stereoscopic-sized plate, to *compose* in such a manner that the eye, in looking at it, shall be led insensibly round the picture, and at last find rest upon the most interesting spot, without having any desire to know what the neighbouring scenery looks like'.⁷⁷

Wilson's contribution to the photographic representation of Rosslyn Chapel is enormous. He started taking photographs of the Chapel in 1859 and from 1861 to 1863 he added to his collection a substantial number of exterior and interior views. It is easy to follow the order in which every single shot was taken thanks to the numbering impressed on each glass plate that appears with the location of the view. We know that the whole of Wilson's early negatives were taken by the moist collodion process, and

⁷⁴ Wilson's Aberdeen factory, in addition to producing hundreds of thousands of view prints each year, was perhaps the largest producer in Scotland of landscape and architectural *carte de visite* prints, which also found their way into the family portrait album with its specially cut slots for this standard print format. The little *carte de visite* measured only 2 1/2 inches by 4 inches (64 x 100 mm) on its mount and, at prices of only a penny or two pence, became the most popular photographic format of all time. For a general account of Wilson's work see Roger Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist & Photographer (1823-93)*, Aberdeen 1981.

⁷⁵ Sara Stevenson, *Light from the Dark Room. A celebration of Scottish photography: a Scottish-Canadian collaboration*, exhib. cat. Royal Scottish Academy July-Oct 1995, Edinburgh 1995, p.46.

⁷⁶ George Washington Wilson also contributed to the history of photography with *A Practical Guide to the Collodion Process* which was published in 1855. His description is clear and concise and not only covers the manipulative process of coating, exciting and developing the plate but also gives advice and recommendations, based upon experience, about cameras. For this see a reprint in R.Taylor, op.cit., pp.177-186.

⁷⁷ George Washington Wilson, 'A Voice from the hills: Mr Wilson at home', *The British Journal of Photography*, vol.XI, no.230, 30 September 1864, p.375.

developed with protosulphate of iron.⁷⁸ We can also say that one of his first attempts to photograph Rosslyn Chapel was with a stereoscopic camera. An important description of his stereoscopic *South Door of Rosslyn Chapel*, compared with a picture taken by 'Mr Archibald Burns of Edinburgh,'⁷⁹ appears in *The British Journal of Photography* of the time:

Mr. Wilson's copy of this subject is taken upon a larger scale than that of Mr. Burns, and consequently less of it is included. The upper windows which form so remarkable a feature in Mr. Burns's, are wanting in Mr. Wilson's copy, but this absence is fully compensated by the increased beauty of the effect of the open doorway, in the embrasure of which a lady is standing, as if about to enter. At the opposite side of the building another door is open, at which there is a gentleman looking in, while still further off is a third open door, through which is seen a row of garden railings, and a portion of the hedge. Of the two windows visible, many of the squares of glass are wanting,⁸⁰ and the larger scale upon which it is taken permits of a better examination of the beautiful carved-work with which the structure is adorned. Both of these specimens are in their way masterpieces of art, and we should not like to part with either of them . . . We think it but right to mention that though Mr. Burns's representation of Roslin Chapel is remarkably graphic and effective, the delicacy and softness of Mr. Wilson's rendering,

⁷⁸ According to the author of the article 'Notice of recently published stereographs. Scottish Gems' in *The British Journal of Photography*, vol.VII, no.109, 1 January 1860, p.7, 'there is nothing inherent in the dry process that should prevent its rivalling the moist one as regards capability of rendering all subjects, the wet process has a considerable advantage'.

⁷⁹ Archibald Burns (fl.1858-1880), landscape photographer, took over the studio in Calton Hill from David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. See Julie Lawson, *Masterpieces of photography from the Riddell Collection*, Edinburgh 1986, pp.116-118. Unfortunately the photograph in question cannot be located at this present time.

⁸⁰ The author of the article seems to say something wrong about the missing pieces of glass from the windows. This is just an effect of light but a Romantic critic likes the notion of decay.

together with the introduction of the figures, causes his specimen of this subject to be more of a finished picture.⁸¹

The article continues with a description of another stereoscope view of the *Interior of Rosslyn Chapel*, where the author describes Wilson's photograph as 'one of those beautiful illustrations that the archaeologist will delight in'.

The massive pillars . . . seem but barely able to support the capitals and heavy architraves literally loaded with ornamentation of the most florid character. A gleam of sunshine falling on a huge square block of stone glorifies it; and the general harmony of light and shade, combined with breadth and detail, unite to constitute this a perfect picture which the eye never wearies of gazing on, and which, while we gaze, communicates a sensation of satisfaction and repose that is truly soothing.⁸²

We know how a 'gleam of sunshine' in Rosslyn had earlier evoked an artistic response on the part of Joseph Michael Gandy and William Delacour. The kind of diffused shade they managed to reproduce in their works was exactly what many 'pictorial' photographers wanted to capture as well. They were inspired by these artistic compositions in painting. One is an image of the south aisle looking east [fig.42, cat.113.14] by Begbie. He shows a row of columns on the left leading to the Apprentice Pillar and the entrance to the crypt. The photographer was deeply impressed by the achievement of the original builders, and in this image he tries to convey the arrangements of the colonnade as perfect as its design is artistic. Apart from being successful technically, this image closely resembles a painting of 1830 by William Dyce

⁸¹ 'Notice of recently published stereographs. Scottish Gems', in *The British Journal of Photography*, vol.VII, no.109, 1 January 1860, p.7.

⁸² *Ibid.*

(1806-1864) which shows the same view through the south aisle with the door open, through which an intense 'gleam of sunshine' enters the Chapel [fig.43, cat.56]. According to Marcia Pointon this 'painting is in no sense an architectural study and the chief interest lies in the play of sunlight which floods through the loosely-swinging door, illuminating the sandy interior but failing to touch the mossy dampness of the corners or illuminate the Bible and the rosary which lie abandoned in the foreground'.⁸³ Also if there is 'an air of questioning, of a narrative incomplete'⁸⁴ that pervades Dyce's painting, Begbie, with different medium, employs an identical depth of perspective to convey scale, with columns retreating into the centre of the image adding drama to the visual impact of the battle between light and shade.

As the concept of the artist-photographer became more common, and as more artists turned to photography, photography was still judged against painting. Photographs were reckoned to be inferior or better than engraved views of nature or of works of art.⁸⁵ In Scotland this debate 'Art and Photography' brought to the attention of the public the 'pictorial' photographer William Donaldson Clark (1816-1873), who, in his article 'Photography as a Fine Art', declared that 'there certainly is such a thing as *photographic art*'.⁸⁶ Clark was very close to artistic circles, where he had been a friend of such painters and photographers as Samuel Bough (1822-1878) and David Octavius Hill. His closest artist friend was the landscape painter Horatio McCulloch (1805-1867), with whom he went on several painting and sketch expeditions. Clark's pictorial compositions of his architectural subjects are the result of this collaboration with an

⁸³ Marcia Pointon, *William Dyce, 1806-1864: A Critical Biography*, Oxford 1979, p.24.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.24. Pointon suggests that William's younger brother Charles Dyce painted Roslin Chapel in 1847 and, recalling the glory which restoration again brought to mind, dramatised the scene by the inclusion of two monks and a Cromwellian soldier [see, cat.58].

⁸⁵ See Mary Warner Marien, *Photography and Its Critics. A Cultural History, 1839 - 1900*, Cambridge 1997.

⁸⁶ William Donaldson Clark, 'On Photography as a Fine Art', *The Photographic Journal* (Journal of the Photographic Society of London), no.133, 15 May 1863, p.287.

artist. He considered that in these 'subjects the photographer, has to a limited extent, the power of giving expression by developing his plate to a certain point, and bringing out some parts more than others, as well as by skilful printing; but this power is within very narrow bounds indeed'.⁸⁷ For him a photograph, however beautiful in detail is, in point of feeling and expression, greatly below the works of a great artist. His view of the *South doorway of Rosslyn Chapel* [fig.44, cat.112.1] can be seen as a distinct form of 'Fine art'. Unlike several contemporary photographers, he was able to catch, in a slightly oblique view of the porch, a combination of force and delicacy. This was determined by the fusion of the strong architectural photographic reality of the exterior and the interior darkness sublimated with a patch of light on the moulded base of a pier.

While the status of photography and its claim to be regarded as an art was very much the subject of debate, Clark's way of seeing the Chapel was emulated by artists of the time. In fact the *South Porch of Rosslyn Chapel* [fig.47, cat.44] by the Victorian painter Josiah Wood Whymper (1813-1903) clearly resembles Clark's point of view of the porch picture and the interior effect of light where the pillar appears from the darkness. It is interesting to note that in this case, the photographic image was to form the base of a work of art. Fifty years later David Young Cameron (1865-1945), while etching the Chapel, made use of the same image chosen by Whymper.⁸⁸ He reproduced, in his own style, many details photographed by Clark. In his *Roslin* [fig.45, cat.96] the narrow portal allows the eye to enter and bore through the dark interior before reaching a portion of the window and the base of the pier slightly touched by a beam of light.

⁸⁷ Julie Lawson, *William Donaldson Clark (1816-1873)*, (Scottish Masters no.15) Edinburgh 1990, p.14.

⁸⁸ David Young Cameron as a painter and graphic artist, had many links with photographers. One of his closest friends was the professional photographer James Craig Annan (1864-1946) with whom he travelled to Holland in 1892 and to Italy in 1894. He also wrote an article on his friend's photographic style: 'An Artist's Notes on Mr J. Craig Annan's Pictures now being Exhibited at the Royal Photographic Society', *The amateur photographer*, vol.XXXI, 16 February 1900, pp.123-124.

With this interplay of dark and light Clark and Cameron, respectively as a photographer and artist, bring to their images the very tensions of the architecture they describe.

Clark's eye for striking and 'pictorial' compositions was perfectly matched by his competence as a technician. He may well have received advice on improving the photographic process from his brother Thomas Clark who was professor of Chemistry at Aberdeen. Despite the long exposure time required, he chose to use mainly the collodion-albumen process, which meant that plates could be prepared in advance, avoiding the necessity of setting up a tent for preparing and developing negatives immediately. The case of the wet collodion plate led to a great expansion in the number of professional photographers. The ability to produce high-quality prints quickly and efficiently led to the introduction of print shops, and prints of local views were soon to be found in the general stores of most villages. The family scrapbook, instead of just including sketches, now contained photographic prints of holiday locations.⁸⁹ The Victorian scrapbook became more and more popular in the 1850s and 60s so the number of photographers producing material for it grew.

The popularity of Rosslyn Chapel was reflected in the work of these tourist photographic card producers. James Valentine (1815-1880), for example, built up an enormous post-card industry in Dundee, depicting most of the popular tourist attractions and demonstrating the enormous potential for commercial exploitation of the Victorian public's voracious appetite for real and vicarious travel. His complete set of twenty cards of the Chapel describes the building features and the legends associated with it.

⁸⁹ Within a very different context, John Mitchinson collected photographs of the Chapel accompanied with an account from Mackenzie Walcott's *Ancient Church of Scotland*. The album is titled: *Collection of photographs by John Mitchinson to record the architectural remains of the religious houses in Great Britain, late 19th-early 20th cent. with notes of each foundation from printed sources*. The collection is kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The Rosslyn Chapel images are in the volume MSS. Top. eccles. b. 32-33. This work is quoted in Mary Clapinson and T.D. Rogers, *Summary Catalogue of Post-Medieval Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol.II, Oxford 1991, p.1226. Mitchinson visited Rosslyn Chapel in 1860.

One in particular representing the restored chancel [fig.48, cat.117.2] on the albumen print has been marked with a black arrow to indicate the position of the legendary Apprentice Pillar, to help the viewer identify the 'principal character' amid this feast of intricate decoration and elaborate Victorian church furniture.

The numerous photographs that appeared during this period prove that there was hardly a picturesque scene or view of the Chapel that had not been photographed. In the 1880s, the only photographer who distinguished himself for the originality with which he portrayed the Chapel was Alexander Adam Inglis (fl.1881-1914). Inglis's wide-angle photographs could be seen as images of the absence, the equivalent of a still life, where the building stands majestic as a cathedral [cat.121].

The wood-cut process, taken from photographs and published in guides and tourist books as a cheaper form of main illustration, provides the final stage in the history of the representation of the Chapel. During the late nineteenth century the use of photography in printed books underwent radical changes. At first, skilled wood-engravers would simply copy photographs onto woodblocks in the same way as they had traditionally copied artists' drawings, and these blocks could then be used to print the image onto the page at the same time as the text was printed. The basic method remained popular for high-circulation periodicals for the remainder of the century, although a number of technological improvements were made. The most important of these involved the transfer of images directly onto woodblocks by photographic means, the block then being cut or engraved by hand, by a skilled engraver. The block was later duplicated on a copper plate in order to permit large print-runs to be obtained from it.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ See, William M. Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication*, Cambridge Mass. 1953, p.107. This technique, according to Ivins, was invented about 1860 by the wood-engraver Thomas Bolton who had 'the idea of sensitizing the surface of his wood-block, on which he had a photograph printed from a negative after a relief by Flaxman. He made his engraving through the photograph as though it had been a drawing in tints on the block'.

In 1883 the Rev. Samuel Green published *Scottish Pictures drawn with pen and pencil*, where many of the illustrations were made directly from well known photographs.⁹¹ The Rosslyn image, for example, representing an interior view of the Lady Chapel from the south aisle [cat.92] may have drawn inspiration from the photograph by William Donaldson Clark exhibited at the Photographic Society of Scotland in 1858-1859, *Roslin Chapel - Interior* [cat.112.2]. An initial look at the two images may reveal differing compositions, however, a closer perusal reveals many similarities. Primarily in the placement of the column in the left hand corner, foreshortened in Clark's photograph and then shown with its base in the woodcut. The location of the two columns in the Lady Chapel are also presented from the same view point. The final result could be considered worthy of theatrical stage scenery, although used for commercial purposes in this 'pictorial' guide of Scotland.

Any number of such engravings can be found in many other late-Victorian and Edwardian guides. Guides that might properly be called 'grotesque' rather than the more common epithet of 'picturesque'! One in particular is in *Scotland Picturesque and Traditional* by George Eyre-Todd [fig.49, cat.95], where an assemblage of a picture of the nave by Wilson [cat.116.9] and a Valentine's detailed postcard showing the church furniture [cat.117.2], becomes in the hands of the wood engraver a very unusual representation.⁹² What makes the image 'hilarious and funny' is the introduction of some visitors, drawn to a false perspective scale, just as George Cuitt had done sixtytwo years before [cat.18]. The woman on her knees praying in the front of the altar, for example, is half the size of the lectern, while a second lectern, which appears in the

⁹¹ Samuel Gosnell Green, *Scottish Pictures drawn with pen and pencil*, London 1883. The engraving of *Roslin Chapel, with the Prentice Pillar* is at page 20.

⁹² George Eyre-Todd, *Scotland Picturesque and Traditional*, London 1895. The wood-cut of *Roslyn Chapel* can be seen at page 70. Another engraving taken from a Valentine's photograph of Roslin Chapel appears in Francis Watt and Rev. Andrew Carter, *Picturesque Scotland: Its Romantic Scenes and Historical Associations so described in Lay and Legend, Song and Story*, London 1880, see p.64.

photographs, has never been completely reproduced in the engraved image, showing the top of this piece of furniture floating in the nave.

Fortunately 'the camera never lies!' and with all these photographic 'verities' we may witness a frozen instant in time, though it is one that is mediated both through the eye and the tastes of the photographer and his medium. 'The moments are the photographers'; they have chosen them, captured them, and isolated them from time before and time to come. What is to be shown is delimited by the photographers.⁹³ As Nikolaus Pevsner notes:

The power of the photographer to strengthen or destroy the original is at any rate undeniable. In a building the choice of the views, then of the angles, then of the light, simply makes the building. It can let the nave of the church appear tall narrow or broad and squat - almost regardless of its real proportions. And, what is more, it can bring out a detail so forcefully that it carries more conviction on the plate than in the original. The possibility of 'isolating details from surroundings' . . . is the photographer's greatest privilege.⁹⁴

We, as viewers, are invited to share Rosslyn Chapel's fragments of eternity as recorded through their techniques.

⁹³ Martin Kemp (ed.), *Mood of the Moment: Masterworks of Photography from the University of St Andrews*, St Andrews 1994, p.4.

⁹⁴ Helmut Gernsheim, *Focus on Architecture and Sculpture, An original approach to the Photography of Architecture and Sculpture*, London 1949, foreword by Pevsner, p.12.

Chapter Three

From antiquarian to picturesque perspectives

... the whole place is highly picturesque, and had fate made me a painter only, you would have seen many fine views of this delightful and intriguing dell.

Letter from J.M.Gandy to J.Britton, 17
December 1806.

3.1. The Gothistic eye.

Antiquarianism, which had its roots in Renaissance thought, was a popular intellectual and cultural pursuit throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The antiquarian work of collecting, compiling and presenting material which exposed the past was seminal to the formation of social and national identities. The veneration we now feel for medieval architecture was restricted to very few in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries among the intelligentsia, whose chief regard was for Roman and later Greek architecture. Since the Gothic style was classified as monstrous and barbarous, the architecture of the Middle Ages had for a long time been ignored or misunderstood. This lack of respect for medieval buildings and their subsequent neglect led to a situation in which many interesting and valuable buildings were ruined. Only a few antiquaries and topographers cared about Gothic structures, such as Sir William Dugdale, William Stuckeley in the 1740s and Horace Walpole, Francis Grose, John Carter and Richard Gough in the later eighteenth century. In fact it is thanks to them that Gothic architecture had not only received appreciative attention from many, but had

become the fashion especially among romantic travellers. The cultural historian Michael Sadleir captures perfectly the revived antiquarian approach to ruined national antiquities, with the following words:

To the Gothistic eye, however, a ruin was itself a thing of loveliness – and for interesting reasons. A mouldering building is a parable of the victory of nature over man's handiwork. The grass growing rankly in a once stately courtyard, the ivy creeping over the broken tracery of a once sumptuous window, the glimpse of sky through the fallen roof of a once proud banqueting hall – sights such as these moved melancholy pleasure minds which dwelt gladly on the impermanence of human life and effort, which sought on every hand symbols of a pantheist philosophy.¹

Inevitably, antiquarianism and antiquarians had an impact on both the 'reading' and reality of Rosslyn Chapel. In this period the growth of travel provided archaeologically-minded visitors with an opportunity to experience the 'truth' of ancient sites and to examine any abstract theories they may have held about the past against the evidence of Medieval architecture itself. Thus what Sadleir describes as 'the Gothistic eye' came to be refined by a knowledge of what was actually there, while at the same time the desire to provide a building with an imaginative (or imagined) life led to a romantic sympathy best exemplified in the poetry and novels of Sir Walter Scott, who frequently uses the fabric of a Medieval building as the starting point for a creative image of the past. Here fiction and fact can be combined in an intoxicating mixture which has proved particularly powerful in the case of Rosslyn Chapel and Scott's stirring tale of his imaginary last minstrel.

¹ Michael Sadleir, *Things Past*, London 1944, p.176.

We must begin however with the moderate measured interest of an earlier Age of Reason. Among the early eighteenth century antiquaries in Scotland, a man who surely will encapsulate these 'Gothistic' sentiments is Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755). Despite the fact that he is remembered for his classical antiquarian taste, initiated in Rome during a Grand Tour, on his return to Scotland 'he transferred the enthusiasm for antiquities gained abroad to the domestic scene'.² Clerk, who 'assumed something of the role of a Scottish Lord Burlington',³ was well acquainted with the strikingly romantic fragments of the ancient buildings at Rosslyn, since both the Castle and Chapel were very close to his own estate at Penicuik. Attracted by the rich complexity of the architecture of Rosslyn Chapel, he made notes regarding the sequence of rectangular carved stones, set immediately beneath the parapet of the north wall. With a close focus of an antiquarian he recorded the 'frieze' which displayed letters and Roman numerals interspersed with shields bearing the engrailed cross, the heraldic symbol of the Sinclair Family.

In 1735 the estate of Rosslyn devolved to General James Sinclair, who descended from the Dysart branch of the Sinclair Family.⁴ Clerk and the General were soon to become involved in a practical way and it was to him that Clerk forwarded his sketch [fig.50], in which he had annotated the following lines:

The Frize [sic] on the South Side is alternately a Ship & ragged Cross being the Arms of the Earlses [sic] of Orkney & the Lord Sinclare.

² Iain Gordon Brown, 'Critik in Antiquity: Sir John Clerk of Penicuik', *Antiquity*, vol.LI, 1997, p.203. By the same author see: 'Gothicism, ignorance and bad taste: the destruction of Arthur's O'on', *Antiquity*, vol.XLVIII, 1994, pp.283-287; *The Hobby-Horsical Antiquary a Scottish character 1640-1830*, Edinburgh 1980.

³ Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 3rd ed., New Haven and London 1995, p.254.

⁴ For a full account of the different lineage of the Sinclair Families, see Roland William Saint-Clair, *The St Clairs of the Isles. A History*, Auckland 1898.

The W-L-S is William Lord Sinclair who was afterwards Earl of Orkney and Chancellor of Scotland about the year 1454.

The 3 Latter characters M CCCC L stand for millesimo quadrogentesimo quinquagesimo & the last square between the two crosses is defaced.⁵

The interpretation of the inscription by the Victorian scholar Andrew Kerr is very similar to that suggested by Clerk. He reads it as 'W L S F Y C Y Z O G M iii 1 L' which he expanded to 'William Lord Sinclair Fundit Yis College Ye Zeir of God MCCCCL (1450)'.⁶

We might think of this annotation by Clerk as typical of someone who was deeply interested in recording the inscriptions of the past. However Sir John's concern went far beyond the simple interpretation of its characters since it was he who first pioneered the conservation of the Chapel, which in the 1730s was in a ruinous condition. Medieval buildings were, he said, the honour and pride of any country, and thus should be preserved.⁷ Some eight letters, sent from General Sinclair to Clerk between 1738 and late 1740s, provide a record of the first practical attempt to conserve Rosslyn Chapel and to protect the Castle from falling into decay.⁸ It is important to note that the correspondence is not dated by year, and it is not possible therefore to establish a secure chronology for the events they describe. Nevertheless a study of the letters reveals a range of attitudes to the antiquarian approach and also records the transformation of many of the architectural features of the buildings at Rosslyn. While both men were evidently concerned to preserve the Chapel as a notable antiquity, they took a rather uncompromising and highly practical view of its conservation and in this Sir John was

⁵ National Archives of Scotland, GD 18 5111/1. See also fig.50.

⁶ Andrew Kerr, 'The Collegiate Church or Chapel of Rosslyn. Its Builders, Architect, and Construction', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol.XII, 1877-1878, p.223.

⁷ See Brown, 'Critik ...', p.204.

⁸ See GD 18 5010/1-8 at the National Archives of Scotland, Register House, Edinburgh.

perhaps more enthusiastic than the General who had to foot the bill. Together they planned a new roof over the aisles and east end of the Chapel; glazed all the windows; demolished a dangerous portion of the tower at the Castle; and made plans for a new House to be designed by the architect William Adam.⁹ Sir John seemed anxious to encourage the General to complete the repair works and to start a new building enterprise at once. An undated letter from the General to Clerk gives important information of the progress of this work and the men whom Clerk had recommended should be employed at Rosslyn: Patrick Lindsay (d.1753)¹⁰ and John Baxter the Elder (d.1753).

I am greatly obliged to You for Your favour, that inclosed [sic] the inscription on the Front of the Chappel [sic], I have put it in to Provost Lindsays [sic] hands as You directed, and he was in hopes that he will get it unriddled for us. I am very glade [sic] that M^r Baxter has gone to work with the Chappel [sic], because it would give me the outmost pain if any dissaster [sic] happened to it in my hands, notwithstanding of its having been most ridiculous in me, ever to have intangled [sic] my self with it. Had the wholl [sic] gone to George Lockhart¹¹ as was intended when I allowed my self to be drawn in, it would not have given me much trouble to have heard that the highest stone of it was the lowest, but as matter now stands, the sooner its [sic] repaired the better. My rage for

⁹ National Archives of Scotland, GD 18 5010/1. Inscribed: 'London February 22nd'; Sinclair writes: 'I am greatly favoured by Your's containing the Plans for the House at Rosslen, which come pretty near to the amendments I desired M^r Adams to make to the one drawn by himself . . . '.

¹⁰ Sinclair refers to Patrick Lindsay (d.1753); Lindsay's grandfather was a joiner in St. Andrews, and he appears to have learned the same trade, for after leaving the army he settled as an upholsterer in Edinburgh. Prospering in his business he was chosen as a magistrate for the city, and became successively Dean of Guild and Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the latter in 1729, and again in 1733. See Sidney Lee (ed.), *The dictionary of national biography*, vol.XI, London 1909, p.1191.

¹¹ Sir George Lockhart (1673-1731), supporter of the Jacobite cause; author of the *Memoirs of the Affairs in Scotland from Queen Anne's Successions to the Commencement of the Union* (1714) and *Papers on the Affairs in Scotland* (posthumous publication).

building is not so strong as to give me the least itch towards making a New House, and for what I at present think if ever I do erect a new House, it shall not be at Rosslyn.¹²

Clearly Sinclair, who lived in London, would have no new Scottish residence, even though it were to be designed by such a well known architect as 'Mr Adams'. William Adam's involvement in a Rosslyn project may however explain the choice of John Baxter the elder for the restoration of the Chapel. Baxter, an Edinburgh master mason of considerable repute, in fact not only enjoyed the patronage of Clerk, but between the 1730s and 1740s was employed to build a number of country houses in Scotland which were designed by Adam. It seems that John Clerk had organised a collaborative effort on the part of Adam and Baxter for the care of the Chapel, the demolition of a portion of the 'Forecastle' and the reuse of the stones for a planned new building. In a second letter to Sir John, the General explained how Baxter would try to compute the expenditure required for clearing the area in the front of the Castle, and calculate the costs of the mason work that will be wanted to make the house 'up to his plan'. Subsequently the General insisted in finding out what sort of windows were to be most proper for the Chapel. What emerges from these two letters is the fact that the General was concerned about the retention of the Chapel, while Clerk was keen to promote the building of a new mansion house in the Rosslyn area as well. Another letter ends with strong sentiments where the General based in London states clearly that he is not interested in building on a property which he might well sell. The 'Romantik' glen was not a sufficient reason to settle down in Scotland. In a way, Sinclair is only interested in the preservation of the Chapel, which had been in the ownership of his family since its foundation in 1446 and which he wanted to reopen as a place of worship for future generations.

¹² National Archives of Scotland, GD 18 5010/2. Inscribed: 'London, March 15th'.

I am honoured with Your's, and am most sensible of the frindly [sic] and nighbourly [sic] concern You have shown in my little affairs at Rosslin. Provost Lindsey is in hopes of geting [sic] the inscription You sent him made intelligibell [sic], and has also undertaken to get us information about the best and cheapest way of Glazing Church Windows. Since my Brother seems to relish the Reparation of the Chappel [sic] better than he did, I intreate [sic] that while he is in the taste of the thing, that the work may be done well and substantially [sic] let the cost come out as it will. As that part of the House that You call the Forecastle will undoubtedly tumble soone [sic] down of it self, wer[e] it not better that it wer[e] taken downe [sic], by which the matterials [sic] may be layed by in some order and preserved, for what ever use we may afterwards [sic] find for them. If you think that the timber, Sclates [sic], and Stones are worth the saving, You had best give directions to M^r Baxter to take them downe [sic], but in this do as You will. I can not reconsile [sic] my self to the thoughts of Building a new house, because it may be expected that I should make a good one, and that cannot be done without laying out more money then I probably can afford, wher[e]as if I repair the old one, there will be fully as much House as I shall ever want, and by that I shall tye [sic] my self up from falling into extravaganceys [sic], which it's but too likely a New Seat and new Plan would draw me into. Besides all this, I conceive [sic] that the only beauty of that place is the Romantik wildness of the River, the rocky banks, and the fall of watter [sic] or the Linn, and these views can not be all had but in the present situation. If there can be a right access made into the old Castle, and that part of it repaired and made lodgeable, in or near to that Plan sent me by M^r Baxter, I shall be willing to lay out on the doing it 500, or 600, pounds, but if it should require more, I am determined never to think of living there, and consequently to sell it again though at considerable loss, reserving however the property of the Chappell for my

Brother,¹³ and that I hope will excuse me to the world for my folly of ever having meddled with it.¹⁴

From a financial point of view, Clerk's assistance with the Rosslyn project seemed to have been well organised. Sir John acted as mentor between the owner of the estate and the workmen employed. He even suggested that the General should get his brother 'to lay out £25 yearly for repairing the Chappell'.¹⁵ The only difficulty was the fact that Sinclair had no control over the quality of the work done and had to rely completely on Clerk's decisions. In relation to the demolition of the 'Forecastle', he postponed any decision until he was there himself: 'As I hope to have the pleasure of seeing You soone [sic], I shall not now trouble You with any thing relating to the pulling down the walls of the old Castle, but leave the disscussion [sic] of that point till I can have the happiness of considering of it with You on the spott [sic]'.¹⁶

Unfortunately this kind of on the spot inspection did not take place in time to save many features of the Chapel now lost. As already mentioned the exterior of the Chapel continued to be visually unchanged until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when its condition became alarming. Baxter provided a new roof over the aisles and the whole of the eastern part of the church, besides reinforcing its walls. It was he who was responsible for changing the appearance of the building and drastically altered it –

¹³ The General refers here to John Sinclair (1683-1750), eldest son of Henry, eighth Lord Sinclair. Being attainted for his share in the Jacobite rebellion, he remained abroad until 1726. Returning to Scotland, he was later to receive back the estates at the hands of his younger brother General James St Clair (d.1762), as had been privately arranged between them. See, Sidney Lee (ed.), *op.cit.*, vol.XVIII, pp.298-300.

¹⁴ National Archives of Scotland, GD 18 5010/4; inscribed: 'London, April 12th'.

¹⁵ Letter from Sinclair to Clerk inscribed: 'London March 18th from St Clair' [National Archives of Scotland, GD 18 5010/3]. In relation to the payment of the repairs he writes: 'I make no doubt of Your taking care of me in the Rosslyn bargaine [sic], which I am sorry has allready [sic] given You so much trouble . . . You may be assured that I will act in that by Your directions, as in every thing else that relates to this affair of Rosslyn.

I approve much of Your design of geting [sic] my Brother to lay out the £25 yearly for repairing the Chappell [sic] and am persuaded that if any body can prevaill [sic] with him to do it, it will be You'.

¹⁶ Letter from Sinclair to Clerk inscribed: 'London, June 26' [National Archives of Scotland, GD 18 5010/5].

despite the General's wishes - by removing the tracery of the great East window. He added a pitched roof in slate, no doubt intended to keep the vaulting perfectly dry but so high that it covered more than half of the clerestory windows on the north and south walls, as can be seen in Delacour's survey of 1761 [cat.2.4-2.9]. These windows were shortened at the bottom, and the space filled up with bricks and mortar.¹⁷ What is quite surprising is that the General was in fact greatly concerned about the result of the works. As a letter written on 3 March makes clear:

Since You was so kind as take the trouble to direct the repairing of the Chappell, I have all alonge [sic], left that to You, to do in it as You had in mind, and indeed every thing about it has been done to my satissfaction [sic], but the high raised rooff [sic] that M^r Baxter put up to darken the great Window on the East end, and of which I complained to you in such maner [sic], that I was in hopes to have found that Eye sore removed,¹⁸ and that part of the rooff [sic] made flatter and slated over before the severity of the Winter came on; but M^r Baxter being so little at home, has perhaps made it escape Your memory. There was one other thing that I wished to have had done for me, and if my memory do's [sic] not missgive [sic] me, You said You would take the trouble of ordering it and that was to cause some Workman measure the Windows that You thought nessesary [sic] to give light, to know what quantity Yoales [sic] of Glass would be wanted to Glasse [sic]

¹⁷ Pictorial evidence confirms that during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century the aisles were covered by a steeply raked roof. This has left considerable evidence of its presence on the fabric. Against the east wall of the transept there are filled in crease lines, showing where it abutted and similar filled in crease lines survive against the lowest parts of the larger pinnacles. Against the east gable there is the outline of filled in chases for a gable roof at each side of the east window. The roof was high set and would have cut across the clerestory windows, obscuring the lower two - thirds. No horizontal crease line remains between the clerestory windows and it seems that this has been restored away. The pictorial evidence suggests that the roof had a single slope towards the east and that there must have been a valley between the two eastern pitches, that allowed light into the east window.

¹⁸ General Sinclair's use of the word 'Eye' may perhaps suggest that the original arrangement of the tracery of the east window involved some circular 'rose-window' motif. No view of the east elevation of Rosslyn exists before that of Delacour (1761) however an oblique image in Slezer's view of the south side suggests that the window had a large roundel set above the paired lancets. A comparison of Slezer's engraving with the existing south side of the Chapel demonstrates that his record of the pattern of the tracery in the south aisle window - though schematic - is reliable.

these windows, that I might with the assistance of Peter [sic] Lindsay while here, make provision for it.¹⁹

The conclusion of these matters was to end controversially. From this point onwards, relations between Clerk and the General seem to have been strained. The architect that Clerk had suggested apparently lost interest in the job and the General had to take things into his own hands, ordering the boundary wall to be increased in height and employing workmen himself.²⁰ His last letter to Clerk reads as follows:

I am favoured with Your letter giving me an account of Your having been at my old Kirk, and of the missmanadgment [sic] You saw there, by the various and different work Men of all sorts that had been employed. I do assure You that I am most sensible of the missmanadgment that must arise from that way of doing, which partly proceed'd [sic] from nessessety [sic], and by no means a choise [sic] of mine. When first I was prevailed on to undertake that piece of old Family nonsense of repairing the Chappell, I put it entirely into the hands of M^r Baxter, who even before he was called off to Lord Garlies [sic] work was very negligent about it, and caryed [sic] on things very slowly, but affter [sic] he went to Galloway there was a tottall [sic] stop I belive [sic] for a Year. People then upbraiding me for having things half done, there was one other man imployed [sic] and I belived [sic] by Your recomendation [sic], he piddled on about it for some months, and could not be brought to help and highten the Walls of the Kirk Yard, which was absolutly [sic] necessary for the preservation of the Windows after I had been at the expense of Glasing [sic] them, this Fellow I say neglecting to do it, and seeing some of the Windows nea[r]ly broken, I did my self order a Mason somewhere from about

¹⁹ Letter from Sinclair to Clerk inscribed: 'London, March 3rd' [National Archives of Scotland, GD 18 5010/6].

²⁰ The material used to complete this task was obtained from the demolition of the 'Forecastle,' as it appears from the recent discoveries made by the archaeologist Tom Addyman during the restoration of the stables attached to the boundary walls. See Tom Addyman, 'Rosslyn Chapel', in Robin Turner (ed.) *Discovery and excavation in Scotland 1998*, Council for Scottish Archaeology, Edinburgh 1998, p.139.

Dalkeith to do this work, and he is the only Workman, first and last, that I employed myself in this ridiculous work, however now that it is done, the Work Men must be payed, imploy [sic] them who will, and orders shall be given about it. I thank You for the trouble that You have taken in seeing the work measured [sic], and wish that You may also have put a price on it.²¹

While the General's sense of frustration and even disappointment in the 'piece of old Family nonsense of repairing the Chapel' is clear, this was not the opinion of contemporary antiquarians who thought that Rosslyn, with its new high pitched roof looked more 'Gothistic' then before, and fully approved the work. On his northern tour of Scotland in 1758 Sir William Burrell noted in his diary on 17 October 1758: 'Roslin Chapel, entire, the property of General Sinclair, who keeps it glazed and in the best repair, a proceeding which will always do him honour and procure him esteem in the opinion of every good man and admirer of antiquity'.²² Similar appreciation appeared in *An Account of the Chapel of Roslin* published in 1761, where the author, under the pseudonym of Philoskensis, writes: 'Of late years this chapel was in great danger of becoming quite ruinous through the injuries of weather: but to the great honour of the late General St. Clair, then proprietor, be it remarked, that he happily prevented that, by putting new flag-stones on the roof, and new wooden casements with glass into all the windows. He likewise laid the floor of the chapel with new flag-stones, and rebuilt the high wall round the caemeterie; so that one may venture to say, these repairs have cost a very considerable sum'.²³

From the later eighteenth century a noticeable shift of attitudes to the Chapel occurs. Now antiquarians *appreciate* the 'Gothistic' qualities of the place more than the

²¹ National Archives of Scotland, GD 18 5010/8.

²² John G. Dunbar (ed.), *Sir William Burrell's Northern Tour 1758*, East Linton 1997, p.117.

²³ Robert Cooper (ed.), *An Account of the Chapel of Roslin, 1778*, Edinburgh 2000, p.38.

practical concerns of Sir John Clerk and the General. The key recorder in this regard must be Richard Gough (1735-1809), whose enthusiasm for Rosslyn almost knew no bounds. It was Gough who revealed the identity of Philoskensis as the Episcopalian Bishop of Caithness, Dr Robert Forbes (1708-1775), a man 'whose modesty deprives the world of his observations'.²⁴ Forbes republished his *Account* in 1774 and dedicated it to William Sinclair of Rosslyn. In 1778 James Murray, the Edinburgh printer based in Parliament Square, published another edition of the same account. Murray's reprint did not acknowledge the author and changed the dedication to one 'inscribed to the Ancient Fraternity and Free accepted Masons'. It may be that the author and the printer of the 1778 edition were both Freemasons. Indeed, William Sinclair became the first Grand Master Mason of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736 with the reprint coincidentally appearing in the year of his death. The *Account* itself provides a description mainly of the interior of the Chapel as it was in the middle of the eighteenth century. It mentions much of what is now questioned as accepted as fact; for instance the legend of the 'Apprentice Pillar'. It also reveals that our understanding of the symbolism within the Chapel has advanced considerably as, for example, there is no mention of the 'Green Man' and its pagan and Celtic origins, the numerous examples of which are simply referred to as 'grotesque' or 'antique' heads and foliage. The *Account* demonstrates also that there appears to have been changes, not only in interpretation, but also in the physical fabric of the Chapel. It confirms the fact that the Chapel was never completed as the author explains that the foundations extending from the unfinished west wall had been uncovered during ploughing.

It is interesting to note that Forbes recorded an architectural feature of the Chapel, which was never discussed again in the later descriptive accounts. He explains how: 'The middle pillar on the fore part of the altar, has a capital cut into flowers *de-luce* in

²⁴ Richard Gough, *British Topography*, vol.II, 1780, p.682.

the first kind of basso-relievo, as some parts of the sculpture are quite free of the pillar, and the light passes through the openings'.²⁵ As has been pointed out earlier, the light effects in the east end of the Chapel attracted Gandy, Daguerre and captured the attention of Walter Scott when he described, in poetic tones, the 'building seen on fire'. Many other fantasmagorical legends were related to the Sinclair family, but none of them referred to this artefact. Forbes in his 'Gothistic', almost organic, description clarifies the seed which would have inspired writers, poets and painters. A capital's carving which filters the light and radiates it in the mode of a flower must have been an emotional addition to these legends.

The illustrator of the *Account of the Chapel of Roslin* was the Edinburgh engraver Andrew Bell (1726-1809), who was associated with William Smellie (1740-1795) in the 1771 publication of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Bell learned the art of engraving from Richard Cooper (c.1730-1764) to whom he was apprenticed. His work consisted mainly of book illustrations. Bell's engraving facing the frontispiece of the *Account*, inscribed *An inside Perspective View of the Chapel of Roslin*, is one of the earliest perspective view of the interior of the Chapel. A similar perspective view made by William Delacour, or by one of his pupils, and dated the same year suggests, since Bell's engraving was issued in 1761, that the drawing was strongly influenced by this image [fig.27, cat.63.1]. Bell's view of the Chapel is a geometrically accurate perspective construction of the building in the taste of the architectural treatises of the period. The method of designing on a plane surface the representations of the vault and the flooring suggests the use of a perspectival grid as an aid to the composition. This calculated application of the principles of perspective projection of shadows and reflections gives the impression of the Chapel appearing higher than in reality. The

²⁵ Cooper (ed.), op.cit., p.16.

Chapel is also shown in another plate drawn by Bell representing a View of Roslin Castle from the South in Forbes's account [cat.63.2].

The *Account of the Chapel of Roslin* of 1761 with its two engravings by Bell became a collectable item for many Scottish and English antiquarians. Its diagrammatic engraved plate representing the section through the central nave and the aisles was an intriguing visual representation for many collectors. The antiquarian print collector was a significant figure in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, existing as both a cultural historian and connoisseur and contributing to a rich museum heritage through the legacy of some extraordinary print and drawing collections. One of the most important British antiquarian print collectors was Richard Gough, who traversed nearly the whole of Scotland in 1771 making copious notes, during his 'topographical tour'. Known for his researches into late-mediaeval buildings, Gough was captivated by Rosslyn Chapel and therefore he not only recorded the building personally but compiled a particular catalogue of printed images of it. Most of the drawings generated while at Rosslyn represent architectural details such as pinnacles, pedestals and window foliations [cat.3]. Gough also recorded the new window shutters and the protective iron bars both from the interior and the exterior. In his rough sketches of the windows there certainly is an inclination towards a chronological ordering which depended on an accurate observation of form and structure in window-head and tracery. Gough may have known John Aubrey's unpublished *Chronologia Architectonica* of the 1670s in which it was stated that 'the windows the most remarqueable, hence one may give a guess about what Time the Building was'.²⁶ Aubrey (1626-1697) was a pioneer in devising an architectural taxonomy in parallel with those of the natural sciences, by a close observation of detailed examples dated from documentary sources. Gough made

²⁶ See Howard M. Colvin, 'Aubrey's *Chronologia Architectonica*', in John Summerson (ed.), *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, London 1968, p.10.

use of Aubrey's scheme to classify and understand the underlying geometry of every single architectural feature at Rosslyn. This is evident from the large amount of drawings made, almost forty, for the most part numbered in sequence. His response is thus not primarily aesthetic, it is antiquarian.

Gough shared his knowledge and interest in Rosslyn with the Scottish antiquarian George Paton (1721-1807) with whom he corresponded, between 1770 and 1774.²⁷ They met in Scotland both in Paton's home near the Edinburgh Custom House, and at a rendezvous in a coffee house on the Royal Mile, where they talked about the content of their respective print cabinets with their reference books before them. Over the years, their opinions were gradually transformed, inspired by new encounters with impressions, or engraving texts. It was in this private world of antiquarianism that Gough's collection of numerous drawings and engravings of Rosslyn Chapel, today preserved at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, was first developed. Paton's library and his antiquarian and topographical knowledge were placed freely at the service of the English antiquary.²⁸ Gough, in the preface to his second edition of the *British Topography*, refers to the valuable assistance he had obtained, from his indefatigable Scottish friend.²⁹ In one of his first letters to Gough, Paton wrote: 'I had almost forgot to acquaint you that there are several views & c. of *Roslin* in "Father Hay's collection 2 or 3 Vol. folio M.SS." which he presented to the Faculty of Advocates many years ago, which escaped my Memory when you was in that Library, some weeks hence when our Parliamentary Calls for Accounts are over I shall spend an Afternoon there & make out

²⁷ Two volumes selected from the 'Paton correspondence' are preserved in National Library of Scotland in the Advocates Manuscript Collection. Soon after his death in 1807, Paton's books were sold and his manuscripts, prints, coins and antiquities were dispersed.

²⁸ In one of his letters to Gough, Paton writes: 'you may depend on my assured Inquiry about every printed Account of the Antiquity of this Country'. [National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS.29.5.7.(i) f.78 recto]. This letter is not dated.

²⁹ The second edition of the book will be published in 1780.

a List of these Views . . .'.³⁰ This list of visual records of the Chapel was later published by Gough and successively reprinted in 1835 by James Maidment in his introductory notice to the *Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn*.

A marked feature of the correspondence between Gough and Paton is the discussion of authorship and the methods by which print images were produced, and the effect this had on their consequent artistic musings. In relation to the Chapel's diagrammatic section and interior view made by Bell, Paton informed Gough that he possessed the original drawing from which the engraving was obtained. According to Gough: 'Andrew Bell's design of the inside of the Chapel in Mr. Paton's custody, is better than his etching that accompanies Mr. Forbes's description of it'.³¹ The English antiquarian acquired many copies of Forbes's description until Paton revealed in a letter the impossibility of attaining additional copies:

I am sorry I cannot serve you at present with any more of the Account of Roslin as the whole of that Years Edinb.^r Magazine was condemned for waste paper, but y.^e Printer sensible of his foolish Mistake proposed reprinting on his own Risque not only that but all the Accounts of Parishes &.^a that he can meet with whi[ch] have already been printed, which design I shall push him on to execute & then will have an opportunity of supplying your Calls.

You may be assured every thing new that is published in the line of Views, Etchings, planns [sic], &.^a shall be purchased & sent you.³²

³⁰ Letter from Paton to Gough dated 26 March 1772 [National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS.29.5.7.(i) f.39v-40r].

³¹ Gough, op.cit., p.682.

³² Letter from Paton to Gough, dated 20 October 1772 [National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS.29.5.7.(i) f.76 verso]. In the same letter appears a list of material sent to Richard Gough in which is noted one inside view of Rosslyn Chapel, see f.77 verso.

By the end of the eighteenth century the interest of individual antiquaries had become more specialised. Like Gough, Lieutenant George Henry Hutton (d.1827) had as his hobby an intense interest in Scottish archaeology. His ambition was to produce a complete listing of the medieval churches in Scotland with special attention given to their physical aspects. He visited many sites of ecclesiastical buildings, sketching and measuring and, when he was away on a military campaign, a series of Scottish correspondents wrote and drew on his behalf. The work itself was never completed, but there remain over two hundred drawings, which were probably seen as compiling a 'Monasticon Scotiae'.³³ As we can imagine the Collegiate Church at Roslin was on Hutton's 'Gothistic' map. The only drawings made by him of the Chapel were two pencil sketches: the first representing the West end [cat.7.2] and the second a carefully delineated detail of Sir William Sinclair's tombstone [cat.7.1].³⁴ He also added to the visual records several notes taken from Gough's publication and other sources. Hutton's intention to rely not only on physical remains but also on documentary sources exposes another facet of the antiquarian tradition.³⁵

What attracted the antiquary was not only the individual character of an object, but the qualities in a monument which brought the past into the present. The past of Rosslyn Chapel which as we have seen was to make such a vivid impression on Gandy's imagination appeared to resemble no well-defined period in his architectural composition *The Tomb of Merlin*. With its varied and sometimes extravagant style, and the subtle interplay between light and emotion, Gandy's work demonstrates the archaeological sensitivity of his contemporaries. His analytical method was, however, that of the antiquary. In a letter to John Britton, Gandy reported his discovery in Astle

³³ See T.I.Rae, 'The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition', *Scots Antiquaries and Historians*, Abertay Historical Society 1972, pp.12-25.

³⁴ Both drawings are preserved in the National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 30.5.23 item 86a-86b.

³⁵ For Hutton's notes on Rosslyn Chapel see National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 30.5.17 pp.90-91.

Thomas (1735-1803), *An Account of the Seals of the Kings, Royal Boroughs, and Magnates of Scotland* (1792), of the seal of Sir William Sinclair, sixth Baron of Rosslyn, in a charter of confirmation from Alexander III [fig.51].³⁶ He noted that the form of Sir William Sinclair's name was very similar to that spelt out on shields along the North cornice, and described how Slezer's view of the Chapel was 'the most correct', but 'defective in placing and proportion of some of the ornament, which should conform to the height of the masonry from bed to bed'.³⁷

In Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century the antiquarian discourse became a literary genre in its own right of which the masterpiece was penned by one of the greatest writers of the time, Sir Walter Scott. The relationship between Scott and antiquarianism is significant. It is important to bear in mind the influence of the various illustrated editions of the *Waverley Novels* where actual historical characters and locations were integrated with imaginary ones. Though Scott was to satirise the national passion for the past in *The Antiquary*, whose principal figure is drawn as a composite from a number of antiquaries he personally knew well, in time he was to become that figure himself; as the house he created at Abbotsford shows only too well.

³⁶ *Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel*, Letter to John Britton from Joseph Michael Gandy, dated 17 December 1806, f.2. The text transcribed by Gandy from Astle's *Magnates of Scotland* account runs as follows: 'N°XIX is the seal of Sir WILLIAM DE ST CLARE, lord of Roslin, descended from WALDERAM count of St. Clare, who came into England with WILLIAM the First. WILLIAM, the son of WALDERAM, settled in Scotland, and was made baron of Roslin by King MALCOLM CANMORE, and from this WILLIAM all the SINCLAIRS of Scotland are descended (Nesbit's, Appendix to his second volume, p.171.). WILLIAM DE ST CLARE, the party to the instrument under consideration, was the sixth baron of Roslin; he obtained a charter of confirmation of that barony, and other possessions from king ALEXANDER the Third; he was one of the Scottish chieftains who invaded Cumberland in March 1296, and was amongst the prisoners who were taken by the English on the surrender of the castle of Dunbar to earl WARDEN on the twenty-ninth of April, in the same year. He is said to have been one of the greatest men of his time; was always active, both in the cabinet, and in the field. He died about the year 1300. His lineal descendants Sir HENRY ST CLARE was created earl of Orkney by HACO king of Norway in 1379, which title was confirmed by ROBERT the Second the same year'.

Legend, "✠ S'WILLELMI DE SCO CLARO MILITIS".

An engraving of the seal appears in Plate III, no.19 of Astle's book [see fig.51].

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Following his personal taste for the past, Scott designed his house to incorporate many features taken from the most interesting buildings in Scotland. The architect responsible for the plan was William Atkinson (c.1773-1839), although Sir Walter himself and his friends, Daniel Terry (c.1780-1829), Edward Blore (1781-1879), and James Skene of Rubislaw (1775-1864), intervened with their own suggestions. The wonderful ornamentation of the interior of Rosslyn, in particular the pendant bosses in the Lady Chapel, were to be copied and reproduced to enhance the antiquarian atmosphere in the library ceiling. Scott had casts made from the celebrated south aisle carving of the Angel reputed to be holding the heart of King Robert the Bruce. It is said that after the death of Bruce, Sir William Sinclair was chosen along with other Scottish noblemen to carry Bruce's heart to Jerusalem and deposit it in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They never reached their destination; during a fierce battle the Moors killed the Scottish knights. The survivors took their dead – and Bruce's heart – for burial back in Scotland. Scott was fascinated by the courage of these Scottish knights. He purchased and adorned Abbotsford as precisely as he collected books and antiquities – not for show, but because they afforded him rational and permanent enjoyment.

Robert Pearse Gillies (1788-1858), a special friend and protégé of Scott, certainly entered into the antiquarian spirit when he described in a letter 'the satisfaction of visiting Roslin Castle and Chapel' with his 'friend Mr Pinkerton, the well known antiquary'.³⁸ He explains how 'Nothing can be considered more beautiful than the scenery or more venerable than the ruins'.³⁹

³⁸ National Library of Scotland [Acc.11453, vol.II, letter no.123]; letter from Robert Pierce Gillies to Egerton Brydges, dated 25 June 1813.

³⁹ *Ibid.* John Pinkerton, renowned for his collection of 'fabricated' Scottish traditional verses, in his *History of Scotland* refers to a manuscript containing notes by Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, and his nephew Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, including a transcription of Roman inscription, which may suggest that these eminent Scotsmen of the 16th century may well have had a broader interest in antiquity than purely literary. This was only one of the many manuscripts associated with the legendary library at Roslin Castle which was looted in the 17th century. For the Sinclair manuscript manufactory see professor H. J. Lawlor, 'The Library of the Sinclairs of Rosslyn', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. XXXII, 1898, pp.90-120.

Scott once said: 'A chronicle of Roslin, . . . a minute record of the lives of its various inhabitants, how they fought and caroused, loved and hated, worked and played, would be worth more than all the mere romances that ever were penned, as a fund of amusement and instruction. But we have only vague outlines; imagination must do the rest'.⁴⁰ It might almost appear that Gillies, whose attitude went far beyond the pure antiquarian aspect, took this statement literally when recounting what was later defined the 'Roslin Raid' in his *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran*. Here his personal and imaginative legend related to the Chapel:

. . . for, having this much in common with the author of 'Waverley', that I was fond of antiquities, I proposed a secret excursion to Roslin Chapel at the dead night; that we should enter it by the window of the sacristy on the east, provided with a dark lantern, and all necessary implements, and should dig up and carry away at least one of the twenty coats of armour which are said to be mouldering under the cold stones of the chapel.⁴¹

The sacrilegious plan was later abandoned but the idea caught the imagination of his antiquarian friend John Jamieson (1759-1839), who wrote a ballad entitled the 'Raid of Roslin'.⁴² For seeing, as he well might, that the menaced raid did not take place, the ballad's author had nevertheless chosen to envisage such an occurrence, and with liveliness and humour versified a series of incidents from the birth of the plot to its close – 'the said close being effected by means of an evil tongue that blabbed, and a party of dragoons from Piershill barracks, who were sent to protect the chapel, and

⁴⁰ Robert Pearse Gillies, *Recollections of Sir Walter Scott*, London 1837, pp.107.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp.118-119.

⁴² As Gillies explains in his *Memoirs* the ballad seems to be lost. Unfortunately he cannot recall more than the first two lines which were: 'The gallants laughed and the red wine quaffed, (of olden times the tale)'.

capture the marauders'.⁴³ Gillies thought that the ballad afforded 'a notable instance of good nature, vivacity and *bonhomie*, in an antiquary so old and study-worn'.⁴⁴

From the fanciful recreations to the accurate reconstruction, both Castle and Chapel became an important 'archaeological site' rich in sources for many literary parallels as well as for an elevated antiquarian taste.

I wish we knew more that we are ever likely to do of the powerful family that once owned this castle and chapel. . . . Doubtless there were beauteous damsels, as well belted knights, that now 'sleep the sleep that knows no waking' under these cold stones; anxious, of course, were the days and hours which they spent within these castle walls; intricate and hazardous the adventures in which they were engaged.⁴⁵

These words by Scott herald the end of that brilliant alliance of the artist, the poet and the antiquarian, a relationship which was soon to be outmoded and would be lost well before the end of the century. In retrospect the poet and his following protagonists created an outstandingly rich and stirring assimilation of Scottish national history, so strong that even today we are still unable to visualise Rosslyn Chapel in any other way.

⁴³ Robert Pearse Gillies, *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran*, vol.II, London 1851, p.194.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Gillies, *Recollections* ..., op.cit., p.106.

3.2. A highly picturesque place.

Joseph Michael Gandy, during his visit at Rosslyn in 1806, in addition to the survey drawings of the Chapel, produced a few sketches of the scenery surrounding the building. He explained in a letter to John Britton how 'the whole place is highly picturesque,' and continued with words of fascination for the location and a certain regret for not being capable of recording the beauty of the Rosslyn's scenery as a landscape painter would: 'had fate made me a painter only, you would have seen many fine views of this delightful and intriguing dell.'⁴⁶ These sentiments found expression in a selection of the drawings contained in the sketchbook [cat.8.3, 8.13, 8.15, 8.18] which show the distant open space mostly filled by a kind of formless vacant lot, overgrown by bushes, so that the walls of the nearby ruined Castle and the Chapel's pinnacles are seen somewhere far off; in another sketch the river Esk looks like a narrow ribbon, while the Chapel can barely be seen at the far end of the composition. Why did the draughtsman need this vacant lot? All his life Gandy had indefatigably studied ancient architecture provided a setting for Soane's contemporary projects, and had depicted buildings as though they had risen in their natural surroundings. In this regard, he was strongly influenced by Giambattista Piranesi (1720-1778), who had shown the remains of Roman buildings in all their greatness and all the beauty of their ruined condition, thereby emphasising the architectural powers of nature. With just such a piety for nature's creation, Gandy contemplated Rosslyn's ancient trees spreading their branches across the rushing stream, the steep and overhanging cliffs covered with hazels, the waterfall that precipitates into a dark den, and many other picturesque elements on a 'sentimental journey' that, in the second half of the eighteenth century had become an

⁴⁶ Letter from Gandy to Britton dated 17 December 1806 contained in the album 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel', see appendix, item no.2.

inevitable part of the artistic education and a man's way of life. 'Picturesque journeys', or series of sketches on the spot of places visited, were of this variety.

It was the Rev. William Gilpin (1724-1804) who more than any other focused the attention of the British reading public on the Picturesque with his books on 'picturesque tours', published from 1782.⁴⁷ Gilpin defined the term 'picturesque' as 'expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture,'⁴⁸ and this he found to be uneven and irregular, having contrasts of light and shade.⁴⁹ This definition did not satisfy the two aesthetic theorists Richard Payne Knight (1751-1824) and Sir Uvedale Price (1747-1829) who examined the word etymologically and found 'picturesque' to mean *after the manner of painters*, from the Italian language idiom *pittresco*.⁵⁰ According to the art historian Christopher Hussey, author of a detailed analysis of the subject in question, the Picturesque was the effect of the Italian seventeenth-century landscape painting, especially the work of Claude Lorraine (1600-1682) and Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), upon British taste in the eighteenth-century. He writes: 'This habit of viewing and criticising nature as it were an infinite series of more or less well composed subjects for painting had been gaining in popularity all through the eighteenth century... The picturesque view of nature was then the new, the only, way of deriving aesthetic

⁴⁷ Between, 1769 and 1774 Gilpin made a series of tours which he recorded in observations illustrated by his own sketches. These were circulated in manuscript among his friends, who constantly encouraged him to publish. This he eventually did in 1782, when he started with *Observations on the River Wye, and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty: made in the summer of the year 1770* which was an immediate success. For the next seventeen years the others followed, eight tours in all as well as *Three essays: On picturesque beauty; On picturesque travel; and On sketching landscape: to which is added a poem On Landscape painting* (1792). The title of each of the eight tours begins with *Observations . . . relative to picturesque beauty*.

⁴⁸ Quoted by Carl Paul Barbier, *William Gilpin: His Drawings, Teaching, and Theory of the Picturesque*, Oxford, 1963, p.98.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.102-3.

⁵⁰ Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, London 1805, p.148; Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque*, vol.I, London 1810, p.44.

satisfaction from landscape.’⁵¹ The Picturesque as a prelude to Romanticism became a mode of vision.

In eighteenth-century Scotland the Picturesque developed largely in the emulation of the work of Alexander Nasmyth (1758-1840) who admired Claude’s paintings during his visit to Florence, Bologna, Padua and Rome, and produced what must surely be the most influential landscape paintings in the history of Scottish Art. His paintings were not straightforward depictions of Scotland, but views of an ideal and perfect land blessed with all the most characteristic features of Italy that enchanted the northerner’s eye: intensely blue skies, warm and brilliant light, fertile fields and meadows, luxuriant woods, streams of crystal water, noble and ancient buildings. These ingredients are harmoniously grouped and dispersed across the canvas dedicated to *Rosslyn Chapel and Castle* (1789) where the site is overtaken by the glow of an evening sunshine [fig.52, cat.50]. The view is constructed with a broad and generous sense of space of an open landscape, which is designed around the siting of the two historical buildings. This is a picture which celebrates the grandeur of Rosslyn’s picturesque beauty where man has a presence but does not dominate. In the mind of the picturesque painter it is no longer the Chapel, but the nearby Castle which becomes the dominant feature of the scene while the romantic landscape, which links the two monuments together, becomes the focus of interest for the next generation of artists at Rosslyn.

At some stage between 1785 and 1792 Nasmyth opened a landscape School at his house at 47 York Place in Edinburgh. He insisted upon drawing *en plein air* as a basic skill and took his pupils on sketching trips.⁵² His aim was to teach from nature rather than coping from great masters or antique casts. Rosslyn Chapel and Castle, just seven

⁵¹ Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque. Studies in a point of view*, 2nd ed., London 1967, pp.1-2.

⁵² At first Nasmyth ran the school himself, but later his daughters, in particular Barbara and Jane, helped organising these trips. See Martin Kemp, ‘Alexander Nasmyth and the Style of Graphic Eloquence’, *The Connoisseur*, vol.173, February 1970, pp.93-100; Peter Johnson and Money Ern  , *The Nasmyth Family*

miles from the centre of Edinburgh, became a favourite hunt to practice sketching for his pupils which included Hugh William Williams (1773-1829) and the Rev John Thomson of Duddingston (1778-1840). With the spirit of an antiquarian Nasmyth taught them how the history of Rosslyn was part of the anatomy of the landscape itself. According to Joe Rock: 'If Williams was Alexander Nasmyth's pupil in 1790, he very soon began to overtake him in originality of view. Even allowing for the difference in age - Williams was Nasmyth's junior by fifteen years - they obviously inspired and influenced each other, to the extent that it is often difficult to know who was imitating whom.'⁵³ A comparison between their respective views of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel [fig.52 and 53] shows how the point of view and the atmosphere surrounding the buildings are very similar, while the two different choices of framing the Chapel are clearly influenced by the variety of picturesque interpretations of the place. However the main difference can primarily be attributed to the use of different media: Nasmyth's painting is an oil on canvas and Williams's picture is a watercolour.⁵⁴

As evidence of Nasmyth's historic appreciation of Scottish scenery and architecture his engineer son James, remembering the atmosphere of his childhood home, recalled in *An Autobiography* his father's attitude towards the preservation of historical seats and their feeling for Nature.

In those early days of art-knowledge, there scarcely existed any artistic feeling for the landscape beauty of nature. There was an utter want of appreciation of the dignified

of *Painters*, Leigh-on-Sea 1977; Cooksey J.C.B. *Alexander Nasmyth: A Man of the Scottish Renaissance*, London 1991.

⁵³ Joseph Rock, *The Life and Work of Hugh William Williams*, unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1996, p.47.

⁵⁴ Helen Rosslyn demonstrates Williams's fluency in watercolour painting which has further developed ten years later in his 1805 view of the Castle from the north. See Maggi and Rosslyn, *Rosslyn Country ...*, p.38.

beauty of the old castles and mansions . . . His fine sketches served to open the eyes of their possessors to the priceless treasures they were about to destroy.⁵⁵

During the years in which Nasmyth was aiming to document these 'priceless treasures' and transcribe them in pictorial images, information about the historical past of Rosslyn - and in general of all Scotland - became much more accessible with the publication of two important books: Thomas Pennant's two *Tours in Scotland* in 1771 and 1774, and Francis Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland* in 1789 and 1791.

Francis Grose (1731-1791) was in Scotland during the summers of 1788, 1789 and 1790 to record the castles and religious building of the country. He relied on a group of fellow antiquaries who shared their knowledge and their drawings.⁵⁶ His view of Rosslyn Chapel, according to Britton, is 'very slight and trivial.'⁵⁷ In the National Gallery of Scotland there is a view of Rosslyn Chapel [cat.6], recently attributed to Patrick Gibson (1782-1829), that corresponds very closely to the view published by Grose in 1789 [cat.65]. The architecture appears to depend on Grose's view, while the foreground foliage is added by the draughtsman. It is however far larger than the drawings Grose normally made, which were related to the size of the intended engravings.⁵⁸ On the contrary, Pennant did not publish any view of the Chapel, and confined himself to writing a detailed account which stressed the connections between

⁵⁵ James Nasmyth Hall, *James Nasmyth Engineer: an Autobiography edited by Samuel Smiles*, London 1897, p.36.

⁵⁶ Grose relied on antiquarians such as Robert Riddell (d.1794) who lent him drawings by Paul Sandby (1730-1809). Sandby's drawings, mostly produced for the Ordnance Survey of Scotland between 1747 and 1752, were copied by Grose's draughtsman-servant, Tom Cocking. According to Kim Sloan: 'Grose was said to have made most of the drawings supplied to the engravers of his *Antiquities* himself, but there is a question about how much he was assisted in his drawings by Cocking who travelled with him.' Kim Sloan, *'A Noble Art' Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters c.1600-1800*, exhib. cat. British Museum, London 2000, p.128.

⁵⁷ Britton, op.cit., p.51.

⁵⁸ See James Holloway & Lindsay Errington, *The discovery of Scotland: The appreciation of Scottish scenery through two centuries of painting*, exhib. cat. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh 1978, p.85.

the building and the Scottish Freemasonry.⁵⁹ The publications of these two antiquarian topographers were closely bound up with the conception of picturesque landscape and stimulated an interest in Scottish history that was only to be satisfied by the writings of Sir Walter Scott.

Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) brought the beauties of Rosslyn valley to the attention of a wider public than would otherwise ever have heard of them, but the Esk valley was a noted beauty spot many years before Scott lived there, and he was far from the first poet to celebrate its charm.⁶⁰ Suffice it to say that in September 1787 the poet Robert Burns (1759-1796), after a night's carousing in Edinburgh, in the company of the painter Alexander Nasmyth, walked out to Rosslyn and had breakfast at the old inn situated nearby the gate to the Chapel. A later report recounted that: 'An old woman takes care of it, and shews each crypt and buttress with the greatest possible minuteness to those who are led by curiosity to gaze on the beauties that mark this Pile.'⁶¹ Burns's thanks to the legendary landlady, Annie Wilson, are recorded in the poem beginning 'My blessing on y.^e, honest wife!'⁶²

While tourism scarcely touched Scotland before the 1750s, by the turn of the century hardly a tourist to Edinburgh failed to visit 'the stately chapel' over which the author of *The modern universal British traveller* gushed with praise: 'When we view the

⁵⁹ Pennant's visit to Rosslyn was recorded by George Paton in a letter dated 28 September 1772 addressed to the English antiquarian Richard Gough. Paton writes: 'Mr Pennant arrived here safely ... Last Monday morning he carried me out with him to Hawthornden & Roslin, was agreeably delighted with both places but more especially the picturesque Rocks & Banks on the *North Esk Water*. The Collection of Sketches, Prospects, Views &.^a during this Visit in Scotland are numerous & fine, I am hope-full the World will be indulged with them in Time' [National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 29.5.7.(i) f.71 recto].

⁶⁰ Following his marriage in 1797 and well before he built Abbotsford, Scott took a house at Lasswade further down the River Esk. He lived in Barony Cottage, fictionalised as 'Gandercleuch' the residence of the author of *Tales of a Grandfather*, which is still standing.

⁶¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol.LXXXVII, part II, September 1817, p.209.

⁶² From Burns's poem 'At Roslin Inn', see Raymond Bentham (ed.), *The Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, Boston 1974, p.184. A very peculiar conversation between Annie Wilson and Walter Scott, while on a picturesque tour at the Chapel, is wonderfully described by Robert Pierce Gillies in *Recollections of Sir Walter Scott*, London 1837, pp.104-107. For another description of this legendary figure related to the history of the Chapel, see note 10, chapter 2.1.

whole of this structure, it convinces us of the propriety of what Mr. Walpole has advanced, namely, that gothic architecture was brought to the greatest perfection in the fifteenth century.’⁶³

People took to travelling as a tolerably comfortable leisure activity. ‘Where once they had travelled only when necessary, now they began to *tour*.’⁶⁴ The search for ‘simplicity and wildness, and all circumstances of remote time and place’⁶⁵ marked Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) and James Boswell’s (1740-1795) visit to the Chapel during their legendary expedition to Scotland in the autumn of 1773. Both the men left the quiet and elegant pleasures of London literary life in order to undertake an arduous journey on horseback in a country quite foreign to Dr Johnson which he sometimes professed to dislike. Boswell’s diary entry for 20 November 1773 records that they both ‘surveyed Roslin-castle, the romantick scene around it, and the beautiful Gothick chapel, and dined and drank tea at the inn.’⁶⁶

Joseph Farington (1747-1821), another well known English visitor to Rosslyn, recorded a ‘very picturesque matter about the place.’ In the account of his arrival at Rosslyn in the autumn 1801, which seems to have been a protracted and soaking progress, he describes the Chapel as ‘remarkable for being a most curious specimen of high finished Architecture. It may be classed with the Gothic but every part seems to be a specimen of the fruitful fancy of the Architect, who appears to have adopted no pattern that was invented by another but to have laboured to produce unceasing variety

⁶³ Murray Alexander, *The modern universal British traveller; or, a new, complete, and accurate tour through England, Wales, Scotland and the neighbouring islands. Comprising all that is worthy of observations in Great Britain*, ‘Part III – Scotland and North Britain’, London 1779, p.740.

⁶⁴ Ann Payne, *Views of the Past. Topographical drawings in the British Library*, London 1987, p.41.

⁶⁵ Johnson’s words quoted in the National Library Catalogue *Boswell and Johnson, The Highland Adventure*, Edinburgh 1973, p.2.

⁶⁶ James Boswell, *The Journal of a tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*, London 1785, p.507.

as far as his limits would allow.⁶⁷ Upon completing a pencil drawing of the scenery [cat.5], he recorded in his diary that 'Rosslyn is a place that has been allowed to run to weed, and its principal beauties are in consequence so difficult to be seen that it is probable few go there who have a full idea of it.'⁶⁸

Despite Farington's negative view of the amenity of Rosslyn, improvements in local transport were soon made which provided a regular coach service from Edinburgh's city centre, contributing greatly to the rediscovery of the Chapel and encouraging interested parties from all parts of the country to visit the building. Amongst these William Wordsworth (1770-1850) and his sister, Dorothy (1771-1855) were noted visitors in 1803.

On 4 May 1805, Dorothy Wordsworth's wrote to Lady Beaumont with regard to her Scottish tour that, 'When we were in Scotland we spent several days in company with Mr Scott - we were at his house, he limped by our side through the groves of Roslin . . . and pointed out every famous hill, and told some tale of every old Hall we passed by.'⁶⁹ The Wordsworths felt particularly attracted to the Chapel that was in a fairly advanced state of decay and which appeared at least partially returned to nature, or in other words, a ruin that was part architecture, part nature. Besides finding that condition more picturesque, they also observed that the creeping vegetation over the sculpted decoration brought the stones to life. Certainly it is in Dorothy's detailed *Journals* that a modern reader will find one of the most stirring descriptions of the Chapel ever written on a picturesque tour:

⁶⁷ Joseph Farington's 'Account dated Tuesday Sept. 22 1801' in Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre (ed.), *The diary of Joseph Farington*, vol.V, New Haven and London 1979, p.1630.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.1629.

⁶⁹ Ernest De Selincourt (ed.), *The Early Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth. (1787-1805)*, Oxford 1935, p.493.

The architecture within is exquisitely beautiful. The stone both of the roof and walls is sculptured with leaves and flowers, so delicately wrought that I could have admired them for hours, and the whole of their groundwork is stained by time with softest colours; some of those leaves and flowers were tinged perfectly green, and at one part the effect was most exquisite: three or four leaves of a small fern, resembling that which we call adder's tongue, grew round a cluster of them at the top of a pillar, and the natural product and the artificial were so intermingled that at first it was not easy to distinguish the living plant from the other, they being of an equally determined green, though the fern was of a deeper shade.⁷⁰

This description has not the character of a purely private diary. It was not jotted down, from day to day, but written at leisure after her return, while the events recorded were still vivid in her memory, and when she could see the whole tour in something like its artistic perspective.⁷¹

Two years later a more aristocratic woman and amateur artist, Elisabeth Leveson Gower (1766-1839), Duchess of Sutherland, was to contribute her own graphic descriptions of the Chapel. In 1805 she made some sketches of the Chapel [cat.67] which were later printed as etchings in a limited edition, with several other scenes in Scotland.⁷² The Duchess excelled especially in watercolour landscapes and delighted to reproduce in this form the picturesque scenery of her native country. Concerning this Britton wrote: 'the example is truly honourable to the good taste and liberal character of

⁷⁰ Dorothy Wordsworth's 'Account dated Saturday Sept. 17 1803' in E. De Selincourt (ed.) *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, vol.I, London 1941, pp.387-388.

⁷¹ According to Helen Rosslyn: 'Although this was Dorothy's only visit, William was to make two further Scottish tours in 1814 and 1831. It is probable that, on the latter trip, he revisited Rosslyn with his daughter Dora, as his sonnet 'Composed at Roslin Chapel during a Storm' is dated the same year. The timeless theme of this poem, suggested by the derelict Chapel, is the same as that of his sister's words, written almost thirty years earlier.' See Maggi & Rosslyn, op.cit., p.47.

⁷² They constitute a small volume in folio which she gave to several friends. See Elisabeth Leveson Gower, Duchess of Sutherland and Countess of Stafford, *Views in Orkney and on the North-Eastern Coast of Scotland, taken in 1805 and etched in 1807*, published by the author in 1807; see also, William Fraser, *The Sutherland Book*, vol.I, Edinburgh 1892, pp.493-494.

the accomplished amateur, and it is hoped will excite emulation among the higher classes of the fair sex.’⁷³

Subsequent representations of the Chapel and its surroundings in the early nineteenth century – for the most part published - served the purpose of enhancing the monument’s status and promoting its historic significance. Both the views as well as the written comments, whether aesthetic, historic or of a topographical nature, provided not only an analysis of the geographical environment but also an attempt to aggrandise the architectural reality. As Rosslyn was seen as a great moment in the history of Scottish architecture so its elements were enlarged and the scale of the building enhanced (typically by the introduction of tiny figures) to make its physical size equate to the cultural standing. Examples of this type of visual imposition appear in the work of Henry Sargant Storer (d.1837) and his brother James (1781-1852),⁷⁴ George Cuitt Junior (1743-1818)⁷⁵ and Thomas Mann Baynes (1794-1854).⁷⁶ In their views it is possible to savour a contemporary judgement of the architectural and landscape quality of the place, acceptable both to scholars and for the general public. What is most important in all these representations is the search for a new quality of the image.

The imitation of nature was still a valid concept, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century a new fascination for artifice was born, which is present in the work of the Minister of Duddingston Church, the Rev. John Thomson (1778-1840). An amateur, though one of the most original painters of his time in Scotland, Thomson studied briefly with Alexander Nasmyth while a student at Edinburgh University, and

⁷³ Britton, op.cit., p.51. On lady amateurs drawing classes at Rosslyn, see Helen Rosslyn’s essay: ‘Rosslyn: ‘That Romantic Spot’’ in Maggi and Rosslyn, op.cit. p.45.

⁷⁴ See *Views of Edinburgh and its vicinity, drawn and engraved by J. and H.S.Storer, exhibiting remains of antiquity, public buildings, and picturesque scenery*, Edinburgh 1822 [cat.70].

⁷⁵ Cuitt’s Jr. miniature painting of the interior of Rosslyn Chapel [cat.18] is part of a collection of drawings at the Victoria and Albert Museum of London [Print Room press-mark: E.2554-1919].

⁷⁶ See *Views of the city and environs of Edinburgh. Drawn on stone by T.M.Baynes*, London 1823 [cat.72].

was friendly with Sir Henry Reaburn (1756-1823), whose landscape backgrounds were the starting point for the characteristic freedom of Thomson's paintings. He was also a life-long friend of Walter Scott, for whom, as for Thomson, landscape was a subject rich in historical associations. In his paintings Thomson was able to depict the originality of the Scottish character, but without renouncing the use of ingredients that are typical of the Sublime and the Picturesque. According to the art historian Renzo Dubbini: 'He knew how to combine different meanings and themes and keep them in balance, a talent that may have appealed to Scott as an ability to reflect on analogy and on how languages are modified.'⁷⁷ The oil-painting *Rosslyn Chapel and Castle* [cat.52] gives a further original contribution to the historic meaning of the place. In this painting the Castle is in a higher position than the valley and reaches the same altitude as the Chapel. This modification and falsification of the nature of the place is a clear reference to Walter Scott's theory of the analogy between the arts. Thomson's contribution to painting here, is rather an enlargement of the repertoire of sporting scenes in landscape than the introduction of a new point of view.

In 1818 Thomson came in contact with Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851) and the draughtsman-architect Edward Blore (1787-1879), when a proposal was made in that year, to publish a large work to be called *The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*, illustrating the chief picturesque features of the country: its castles, its churches, abbeys, woods and hills. Leading artists of the day were to be employed to provide the plates, while Scott undertook to write the descriptive letterpress.⁷⁸ For this work, Turner provided a much more accurate version than Thomson's oil-painting as, in the plate representing Rosslyn Castle, the Chapel

⁷⁷ Renzo Dubbini, *Geography of the Gaze. Urban and rural vision in early modern Europe*, Chicago 2002, p.132.

⁷⁸ See William Baird, *John Thomson of Duddingston, Pastor and Painter; A Memoir*, Edinburgh 1895, p.53. The development and significance of the artists' illustrations for Scott's project is explored by

emerges through the foliage from a distance and is in a higher position than the Castle [cat.16].⁷⁹

Blore had met Scott in 1816 when the poet was anxious to find an architect who could interpret his own ideas for the architectural drawings of the *Provincial Antiquities*. Blore's friendship with Scott resulted in his employment as 'manager' of the work; owing to financial difficulties and Scott's failing health, only two volumes were issued. He drew three illustrations of Rosslyn Chapel: the external view [cat.75.3] corresponds to Grose's engraving [cat.65], whereas the views of the interior are drawn in a way that alters the height of the central nave, thus making the Chapel look like a Scottish Fonthill Abbey [fig.54, cat.75.2]. This lack of proportion is actually caused by the presence of a few visitors, who were drawn to a small scale.⁸⁰ This play on lighting and perspective, which can also be noticed in Daguerre's Diorama painting of a few years earlier, creates an extraordinary illusive effect.

Between the 1820s and the 1830s picturesque tours to Scotland were no longer the preserve of wealthy aristocrats, of Scottish artists exploring their indigenous landscape, and of visiting English painters plotting their own itinerary of picturesque places: many educated middle-class families, such as John Ruskin and his parents started making picturesque tours regularly. These tourists required new and up-to-date guidebooks of Scotland, but they also devoured Scottish prose and poetry, pictures and illustrations. Very soon there was a massive upsurge in books on Scotland, fuelled partly by renewed travel and partly by revolutionary developments in the techniques of book production.

Katrina Thomson in *Turner and Sir Walter Scott. The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*, exhib. cat. National Gallery of Scotland December 1999 - March 2002, Edinburgh 1999.

⁷⁹ Turner's 'Dunbar and Edinburgh Sketchbooks' in the Tate Gallery of London, contain six pencil drawings of the Castle and the Chapel. These books were apparently carried by Turner on all his sketching excursions during his visit to Scotland in 1801. In the 'Dunbar' Sketchbook on f.44 verso appears a sketch of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel as seen from the north east, which is very similar in composition to the view of this subject in the *Provincial Antiquities*.

The views in the *Provincial Antiquities* were engraved on copper plates which produce only a few hundred impressions before their finely incised lines become coarse and indistinct. From 1822, however, engraving on copper was largely replaced by engraving on a much harder material, steel. This can be used to print many thousands of impressions of engravings with the most minutely differentiated gradations of tone; indeed, without the use of steel plates, the complex light effects which enchant the viewer's eye in Thomas Higham's (1796-1844) line engraving of the Chapel would have been impossible for a long and profitable print-run [fig.36, cat.77].⁸¹ The same period also saw the invention of a totally different process, lithography, which produces illustration of a very distinct atmosphere and subtlety, evoking the softness of a pencil drawing. Lithography, as its name implies, involves drawing on stone rather than metal and a chemical process rather than one of incised lines. Artists rapidly assimilated lithography for the reproduction of paintings (earlier, engravings had been used for this) and for the creation of original works. Rosslyn Chapel became one of the first architectural subjects on which the possibilities of the new technique were tested in Scotland.

As a result of these new markets and new printing techniques, pictures of Rosslyn Chapel started to appear in many different types of books. The shift to the picturesque coincided with a new phase of antiquarian research and with the publication of such works as *Sketches in Scotland Drawn from Nature and on Stone* (1837) by Samuel Dukinfield Swarbreck (fl.1830-1865) and *Scotland Illustrated in a Series of Views*

⁸⁰ It is important to note that a number of preparatory sketches for, or related to, Blore's drawings are in the British Library, London (MSS. 42000-42047). Unfortunately none of them represent the three Rosslyn plates for the *Provincial Antiquities*.

⁸¹ On the importance of 'steel facing' prints in the history of printmaking, see William M. Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication*, New York 1969, p.73.

(1838) by Thomas Allom (1804-1872), William Henry Bartlett (1809-1854) and Horatio McCulloch (1805-1867).⁸²

In the three views of Rosslyn Chapel included in Swarbreck's collection, the influence of Edward Blore was determinative. In other cases it is possible to recognise the influence of other famous painters of panoramic views, such as Turner and Thomson, or a graphic quality inspired by the drawings of well-known architects in preparation for the restoration of important monuments. The picturesque was employed to arrange, present and reconstruct the image of a significant building of the national heritage. Engraving served the purpose of achieving descriptive precision, while the newly devised technique, lithography, proved to be more suitable to express the emotional character of the view. The immediate entrance to the Chapel is through a narrow pointed archway, which in the frontispiece sketch is hidden from view. The second and third views are interiors, showing a carpenter, during a moment of rest, admiring the magnificent structure surrounding him and a mason working on the flooring with a trowel, who is illuminated by a light beam that makes the whole scene amazingly visionary. In *Rosslyn Chapel-Interior* [cat.79.2] a sloping flag near the first of the small pillars seen in the sketch, indicates the spot where the ancient Lords of Rosslyn rest. The Apprentice Pillar forms a striking feature in this view. The reader is informed that the holes seen in some of the pillars are said to have been made by Cromwell's soldiers, when converting this sacred edifice into a stable and barrack-room while the dark pillar received its present hue from the fires then kindled against it. In the view *Rosslyn Chapel-The East Aisle, or Lady Chapel* [cat.79.3] the Apprentice Pillar is again introduced, and forms a striking contrast to the plainer style of two other pillars. In the text which accompanies the plate Swarbreck explains how the second Earl of

⁸² See, William Beattie, *Scotland Illustrated in a Series of Views by T.Allom, W.H.Bartlett and H.M.Culloch*, vol.II, London 1842.

Rosslyn, Sir James St Clair Erskine (1805-1837), is interred under the further slab seen in the sketch; and immediately under the beautiful pendant boss, called Star of Bethlehem, above the nearer slab, lie the remains of his Countess.

Set amidst dramatic scenery, the unfinished late-medieval masterpiece of Rosslyn Chapel awoke genuinely romantic feelings. It had a religious, historical and mystical appeal for any visitor. However, it cannot be denied that the picturesque appeal was by far its most attractive feature. Parallel and simultaneous with the development of the picturesque ideal, grew up the spirit of conservation. The introduction of masons into Swarbreck's views presages the restoration of the Chapel. Soon, as a consequence of the repairs to be carried out at the Chapel it would lose the charm it had as a ruin. Stripped of its awkward roof and wooden shutters, the slow process of repairs lent to the image of the Chapel a hint of artificiality, which would begin a new chapter in its history far removed from the one inwardly linked with the development of Scottish narrative prose, poetry, and painting.

Chapter Four

Victorian restorations and controversies

... so unique a gem should be preserved to the country.
Queen Victoria at Rosslyn Chapel, 14 September 1842.

4.1. The unmaking of pictorial beauty.

In the early and mid Victorian periods Rosslyn Chapel was to be extensively restored under the care of James Alexander Sinclair Erskine (1802-1866), the third Earl of Rosslyn. His work precipitated extensive debate not only on the level of intervention that was appropriate to such an historic structure but also on the ideas and ideals of contemporary conservation. Lord Rosslyn, inherited the title in 1837 and in that year immediately turned his attention to the poor repair of the Chapel, on which his father had previously done little more than the minimum to keep the structure standing. Two architects were to be involved in this work: the exterior, which received Lord's Rosslyn immediate attention was repaired by William Burn (1789-1870) between 1837 and the mid 1840s, while the thorough restoration of the interior was consigned to Burn's one time partner David Bryce (1803-1876) from 1861.

One of the most important points in the history of Rosslyn's restoration was whether the romantic lichen- and moss-covered chapel should be restored to the condition prior to its transformation or whether it should be preserved in its ruinous state. Many early nineteenth century visitors had admired the carvings and the walls

which were 'beautifully tinted with all the variegated blotches an incrusting vegetation can bestow'.¹ Time and the luxuriant vegetation had lent the Chapel a new beauty, so that when the idea for the restoration was first mooted in 1837 two factions had already formed: wild nature lovers and building lovers. This is how a correspondent to *The Scotsman* described the nature of the conflict. He wrote that in the case of two such antagonistic points of view, it should be recalled that the preservation of the pictorial effect had always been a leading principle both in designing and in the execution of buildings.²

The restoration of Rosslyn Chapel started in the spring of 1837. On this occasion Samuel Dukinfield Swarbreck published his album of lithographs entitled *Sketches in Scotland* which bears a dedication to the Lord Rosslyn and carries a view of the south door of the Chapel on its title page. In his notes Swarbreck explains how 'the exterior of the chapel is undergoing a very extensive repair by its owner, the Earl of Rosslyn, under the eminent direction of William Burn, Architect, and in strict unison with the original architecture; thus securing to after ages these rich remains of Gothic art'.³ All the requirements for the conservation work were clearly set out by Lord Rosslyn in a letter addressed to Burn in which the architect was 'requested to cause immediate examination of the state of the Chapel of Roslin, and send a report upon the same'.⁴ According to his letter the Earl planned to remove the high sloping roof added by John Baxter the elder in the 1730s and replace it by a new lower one over the aisles 'thereby discovering the whole of the windows and rendering the appearance of the roof more in

¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol.LXXXVII, part II, September 1817, p.209.

² *The Scotsman*, 7 May 1861, p.3.

³ Samuel Dukinfield Swarbreck, *Sketches in Scotland Drawn from Nature and on Stone*, London 1837, caption to Plate I: 'North Entrance to Rosslyn Chapel'. Swarbreck continues explaining how the stone employed for the restoration works was 'fortunately obtained, as is supposed, from the original quarry'.

⁴ Letter from James Alexander Sinclair Erskine to William Burn dated 1836 [National Archives of Scotland, document GD 164/1013].

conformity with the original plan'.⁵ The old slate roof was removed but it was a long time for before the glazing was completed and the standing structure made watertight. The reason of this delay is not clear though the Chapel may have been left open on purpose to let plenty of air into the building to allow the stones to dry out.

While Lord Rosslyn and Burn no doubt believed that they acted in a responsible way in these works of restoration, a major Scottish artist who at that time was undoubtedly a force to be reckoned with, was horrified by what he found while making a series of oil studies of the Chapel. This was David Roberts (1796-1864).

Roberts [fig.59], very much 'a true Scot', was a man of considerable character, charm and generosity, as well as an artist of surprising originality. He had known Rosslyn Chapel from his childhood and revisited it as a source of constant inspiration throughout his life. The Scottish bible in stone – as the Chapel is sometimes termed⁶ – with all its fascinating sculpted decorations, became Roberts's gateway to the Near East. Throughout his extensive artistic travels, even when faced with wonderful and unequalled architectural remains, he would paint the beauties of Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land, as he had done in Scotland, 'on the spot *à la Roslin*'.⁷ His renowned love for the Chapel is manifest not only in the quantity of paintings he made of the building itself [fig.60-65], but also in many of the letters which he wrote from Rosslyn to his daughter, Christine Bicknell (1821-1872). One of them in particular captures the artist's impression within the Chapel where, according to Roberts's own words, 'there is a

⁵ *Ibid.* The evidence that John Baxter the elder was the architect for this roof is contained in the Clerk of Penicuik papers [National Archives of Scotland, document: GD.18 5010/6]. The role of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik in preserving the Chapel ruins is discussed in Chapter 3.1.

⁶ See, Ian C. Hannah, *Story of Scotland in Stone*, London 1934, p.192.

⁷ Letter from Roberts to David Ramsay Hay, London 9 September 1845 [National Library of Scotland, MS.3522.f.16 verso].

combination of light & shade I have never met with in any subject, colour and richness of detail peculiar to itself'.⁸

Roberts's response to the 'beautiful little chapel' was truly romantic. He could not approve any change to the site, scenery or architecture of the place and believed that these should either be left untouched or, if work were really required should be treated with a careful gentle hand. These feelings set his pen in motion with an intensity indicative of a ruling passion, so that soon after the restoration works had begun he wrote pungently sarcastic letters to all his friends.

In 1842, to mark Roberts's Eastern journey and safe return to Britain, the Royal Scottish Academy gave a Public Dinner at which the famous and historically minded Lord Henry Cockburn (1779-1854) presided. It would seem that Roberts used the occasion to raise his concerns about the work that was being carried out at Rosslyn, for a few weeks after meeting him Lord Cockburn records that he received the following letter:

Previously to the recent alteration, the lateral aisles were covered with a temporary and slated wooden roof, which, from its slanting position, covered in a great portion of the windows that light the upper part of the chapel, and served to exclude not only a great current of air, but, together with the then built up state of the great east window, tended in a great measure, by the exclusion of the wind, to the preservation of the interior, by fostering as well as sheltering that green mossy vegetation which had nearly overgrown every part of it; whilst, at the same time, the exclusion of the light itself spread that 'dim religious light', which, even at mid-day, impressed upon the mind of those feelings of awe and solemnity so befitting and becoming the long forsaken sanctuary.⁹

⁸ Letter from Roberts to Christine Bicknell, Rosslyn 1 October 1842 [National Library of Scotland, Acc.7723 no.4].

According to Roberts the removal of the roof above the aisles, together with the opening of the great east window, destroyed the solemnity of the place. At the same time, the bigger window openings increased the flow of air and was drying up and destroying the vegetation which to an artistic mind 'tended so much towards the preservation of the building'.¹⁰ He insisted that 'the *restoration*, as it is called, of the east window, *is not a restoration*, but a monstrous blunder', and ends the letter pessimistically with the emphatic assertion that Rosslyn Chapel might be known to posterity only by 'the skeleton of its ruin'.¹¹

The following reply from Lord Cockburn speaks for itself: 'My Dear Roberts, . . . I was at Roslin last week, and thoroughly agree with you about the state and prospects of the chapel. I have sent your letter, as I did your former one, to Lord Roslin's [sic] agent. He had told me before I last heard from you that his lordship intended to glaze the windows, chiefly in consequence of your opinion'.¹² Caught in the cross fire of these conservational issues Lord Cockburn reminded Roberts that Lord Rosslyn and his father had spent a large sum on the restoration and were therefore 'entitled to great consideration and tenderness'.¹³ Although Lord Cockburn had an undeniable standing as a champion of preservation in the Scottish capital, it would appear that the nature of the restoration at Rosslyn did not concern him much. He probably thought that Burn was conscientious and would be aware of the niceties of his situation.

⁹ *The Scotsman*, 6 December 1843, p.3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Letter from Lord Cockburn to Roberts dated 27 October 1843, in James Ballantine, *The Life of David Roberts R.A.*, Edinburgh 1866, p.157.

¹³ *Ibid.* This passion and respect for the Rosslyn family is evident when Cockburn records in his *Journal* the death of the 2nd Earl of Rosslyn: 'Yet I never could cease loving and admiring him. His talent, spirit, and long consistency; his gallant, gentleman-like, old soldier-like air, his light erect-looking figure; his grizzly hair; and the very wrinkles around the outer wicks of his eyes, were all admirable'. T. H. Cockburn, *Journal of Henry Cockburn being a continuation of the Memorials of his time 1831-1854*, vol.I, Edinburgh 1874, p.131.

The restoration of Rosslyn Chapel at this particular time occurred when attitudes to conservation and to architectural practises were coming under ever increasing scrutiny. While Burn may have believed in good modern workmanship, such as he had employed in the ashlar refacing of St Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh between 1829 and 1833, antiquarian and picturesque consideration led others to see the quest for solidity as a goal more likely to damage the building than to secure its continued quality. For them a poor restoration could have been more disastrous than the ravages of the centuries, and new work destroy the integrity of the monument. They questioned whether Burn was aware of the fact that a restoration could transform an old building into a new one, and destroy its historic interest. Through careful restoration Burn felt he could give back the monument the richness and splendour it had lost and conserve for posterity the unity of the appearance and the interest of the details of the Chapel.¹⁴ Roberts was not of the same opinion. Perhaps his hostility to Burn's method is best illustrated by his comments, after a detailed inspection of the restoration works, when he remarks: 'we will see what will be the next *dodge* of the modern beautifier of Roslin Chapel - From his having been out there the Sunday Morning before I went, I think he must have *smelt a rat*'.¹⁵ Roberts, by that time was planning to attack Burn in a series of critical letters which were to be published in the local papers. The campaign involved the close friend of his youth, David Ramsay Hay (1798-1866), with whom he was trying to pull influential strings to have the East window closed up again, the remaining windows put in a proper form and to save the picturesque beauty of the interior.¹⁶ He

¹⁴ Perhaps this was one of the reasons why he chose to be portrayed by David Octavius Hill beside the south porch of this major work of restoration confided to his care [see cat.106.11].

¹⁵ Letter from Roberts to David Ramsay Hay, London 30 October 1843 [National Library of Scotland, MS.3521, f.164 recto].

¹⁶ During this phase of restoration Burn carried out plans for a new tracery at the great east window. The newly designed tracery, which can be seen in one of Hill & Adamson's calotype [cat.106.9], was strongly criticised by Hay and Roberts. Around the 1890s there was a lot of activity at the same tracery and it is possible that during the reworking of the stained-glasses it was taken the decision to remove Burn's tracery with the one in its present form.

made no secret of his intentions in Edinburgh, planning that public opinion could be directed to the debate through more correspondents than himself.

The public controversy started with what Roberts described as the 'Herioter's letter', in which his friend James Ballantine (1808-1877) under the pseudonym of 'an Old Herioter' described his return to Edinburgh where, to his great surprise, he found total wreck and ruin of 'those touching memorials of a bygone age . . . which hoary veterans had pointed out' as the scenes of the most remarkable events connected with Scotland's history.¹⁷ The letter appeared in *The Scotsman* for Wednesday, 8 November 1843, under the title 'Antiquities in and around Edinburgh'. The primary object of the letter is not immediately apparent. Ballantine's begins with a number of nostalgic *memoirs* building in an emotional *crescendo* to a defence of Rosslyn, where as a boy, he had frequently been on his holidays, and his desire to modify the flood of light which destroyed the atmosphere and all the associations of the place. Ballantine's vocabulary is explosive speaking of: alteration, tasteless innovations, damage, destruction, dilapidation and restoration, which all, in the end, meant different degrees of negative or destructive activity in the Chapel. As a proselyte of Roberts, Ballantine criticised the 'excess of light, which oppressed the eye' and complaining of the 'monstrous aperture' which 'stood yawning and gaping', and through which came rushing 'the cold east wind, sweeping down fragments of the venerable structure'.¹⁸

The 'Herioter's letter' was admired by Roberts for the delicacy with which attention was gradually drawn to the subject, without making a direct onslaught. Ballantine's main effort was to defend an Icon of Scotland's architectural heritage for future generations, and he ended with the following words:

¹⁷ *The Scotsman*, 8 November 1843, p.3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

I sincerely trust that this notice will meet the eye of those concerned, and that the noble Earl of Rosslyn will without delay cause a survey to be made of this beautiful chapel. If it be allowed to remain much longer in its present state, it will get rapidly more and more dilapidated. . . . Scotland will lose what has always been considered one of the most remarkable proofs of the princely wealth of her ancient nobles – artists and lovers of art will regret the loss of sculpture and tracery which cannot be replaced.¹⁹

Ballantine was of the Romantic school and seems to have believed that the mosses and lichens that covered the interior of the Chapel were essential to its conservation. The winds blowing into the building caused the plants to dry out. When they died and fell to the ground pieces of sculpture came with them and he therefore wanted the building to be closed up and the old roof by John Baxter to be replaced.

Surprisingly the effect of this letter was not what was expected. It seems generally to have passed without notice causing in Roberts an enormous delusion and anger. Only a moderate letter published two weeks after the ‘Herrioter’s letter,’ under the pseudonym of Civis appeared further in *The Scotsman*.²⁰ In indignation at lack of public interest Roberts penned Hay in a livid letter: ‘. . . let them be for ever fallen, and never mention the name of Scott again, the sacralege [sic] comitted [sic] upon that chapel under the name of restoration is enough to rouse him from his grave . . .’.²¹

At this point Roberts decided to head up the preservation battle himself which necessarily became a more personal matter. Since Lord Cockburn had already been involved in the controversy, he considered it fair to make the text of his original letters to the judge known to the wider public. These letters identified as correspondence sent to a ‘learned and eminent personage in Scotland’ were published in *The Scotsman* for

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ See *The Scotsman*, 22 November 1843, p.3.

Wednesday, 6 December 1843.²² A few days before Roberts had written to Hay: 'if interested [?] they do not rouse our countryman to take some steps to avert its destruction then, in the devils [sic] name, let it tumble, with this proviso, - that when it does fall - the conceited author of the mischief be - the only one under it -'.²³

Spirited exchanges continued with Hay who found it doubtful that Burn's plan could ever be carried out, while Roberts continued to admire 'the green tinge of age', which gave Rosslyn a great picturesque charm.²⁴ The picturesque features had a specific meaning that appealed to a nostalgic sensibility prevalent at that time. It was John Ruskin who later on revolutionised ways of seeing insisting upon fidelity to Nature, above all other considerations. Ruskin was both an admirer and a critic of Roberts's work. The fact that the Scottish artist took up the position of an anti-restorer, as an admirer of the green vegetative state of the Chapel, while at the same time representing the building as completely dry and tidy did not make any sense in Ruskin's mind [compare fig.68 and 65]. He complained that in particular one of the interiors of Rosslyn Chapel [fig.60, cat.54] 'instead of showing the exquisite crumbling and lichenous texture of the Roslin stone, was polished to as vapid as smoothness as ever French historical picture'.²⁵ Yet he stated: 'it is bitterly to be regretted that the accuracy and elegance of his work should not be aided by that genuineness of hue and effect

²¹ Letter from Roberts to David Ramsey Hay, London 27 November 1843 [National Library of Scotland, MS.3521, f.170 recto].

²² David Roberts wrote to the editor of *The Scotsman* in order to publish two letters to Lord Cockburn regarding the state of Rosslyn Chapel. The name of Lord Cockburn is never mentioned in the paper. Evidence that the 'eminent and learned personage in Scotland' to which these letters were addressed was Cockburn, is contained in Roberts's letter to his Scottish friend David Ramsay Hay, London, 27 November 1843 [National Library of Scotland, MS.3521, f.170 recto].

²³ Letter from Roberts to Hay, London 2 December 1843 [National Library of Scotland, MS.3521, f.172 recto].

²⁴ See letter from Roberts to Lord Cockburn in *The Scotsman*, 6 December 1843, p.3.

²⁵ John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol.I, London 1898, p.127.

which can only be given by uncompromising effort to paint, not a fine picture, but an impressive and known *verity*'.²⁶

In addition to the restoration controversy, another reason for which there was no love lost between Roberts and Burn was certainly the fact that the artist took exception to the architect's support for the illustrations of *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* by the English architectural illustrator Robert William Billings (1813-1874). Published between 1845 and 1852, it became the most beautiful book ever produced on Scottish architecture and involved the preparation of more than two hundred drawings for engraving. Billings travelled frequently to Scotland, sketching on the spot and sending the result to his engravers in London. He chose the best engravers available, including John Le Keux (1783-1846), to accurately translate his sketches into steel engravings. The investment required for a long term project such as this was shared between Billings, Burn and the publishers, William Blackwood and Sons. While his works were criticised for failing to provide plans of the buildings described, Billings's acute observation and ability to capture visually the character of a building encouraged an appreciation of the buildings he chose to include. He devoted no less than nine plates to Rosslyn Chapel [cat.84], in which much of the enduring appeal stems from their meticulous composition. Each plate is a model of clarity as he skilfully encompassed the aesthetic and the informative within the restrictions of a single engraved image [fig.70-73]. Billings was also particularly sensitive to the value of the architectural details of the Chapel and voiced this himself in 1852 when he lectured to the Architectural Institute of Scotland about the 'Economy of Scottish Architecture'.

The Scottish have always been taken for an economical nation, but they sometimes carried this feeling of economy into most extravagant architectural faults. In general,

²⁶ *Ibid.*

however, they carried their decoration only so far as it was absolutely necessary. Take one of the pinnacles of Roslin Chapel, for instance. There are three sides in sight, and these, as you know, are richly carved. The crockets are beautifully finished, and not only that, but the face of the pinnacle itself is a perfect network of elaborate detail. Go to the back (the fourth side), and you will find that, where you cannot see it, it is as plain as possible . . . Economy was the order of the day wherever nothing could be seen. They carried their decoration only so far as it seemed absolutely necessary, but not one jot further.²⁷

Billings was deeply committed to promoting an appreciation of the architecture of the Gothic period, an idea which is clear in his various volumes which became a vital source for architects working in the local Gothic Revival manner or in the Scottish Baronial style. 'Who is Mr Billings?', Roberts wrote to Hay, after saying that 'The work you allude as forthcoming on the monastic remains of Scotland I will be glad to see - but wish it had fallen to better hands, than the restorer or renovator of St Giles's Cathedral and Roslin Chapel'.²⁸ Roberts would unquestionably have made a more artistic job than Billings, but it would have been impossible to fit such a project into his programme of wandering in Europe and in the Near East. Nevertheless he never relinquished his original intention of doing a distinct and personal work on Scotland.²⁹ During the summer of 1846 Roberts entered into an arrangement with James Duffield Harding (1797-1863), William Leighton Leitch (1804-1883) and many other artists to execute forty drawings for a work called *Scotland Delineated*. To enable him to accomplish this task, Roberts travelled to Scotland during September and October,

²⁷ Robert William Billings, 'Economy in Scottish Architecture', *The Architect*, vol.XXXIII, 21 March 1885, p.177.

²⁸ Letter from Roberts to Hay, London 29 December 1845 [National Library of Scotland, MS. 3522, ff.25r-25v].

²⁹ See letter from Roberts to Hay, London 29 March 1846 [National Library of Scotland, MS. 3522, ff.35r-36v].

visiting Edinburgh and Rosslyn, and making sketches and copious descriptive notes of all the chief monastic and baronial remains he then saw. Although charming, this work was not a success, coming rather late in a series of similar books; it was also too expensive. The frontispiece of the text, drawn by Roberts himself, represents the south entrance to Rosslyn Chapel and a series of people in Highland costume [cat.85].³⁰

Confirmation of one of the reasons for publishing the book comes from another letter by Roberts to Hay in which he states: 'The work on Scotland has fairly started, I have done eight drawings, Melrose, Porch of Roslin Chapel Tittle [sic] page, the Castle from Greyfriars High Church of Glasgow Roslin Chapel Exterior Linlithgow Falkland Palace & St Andrews - and if The Great Burn, do not look sharp - he may burn his fingers, in authorship - if he may not have done it as an architect - I hope in the descriptive part of Roslin Chapel to have an opportunity - of pointing out *his* improvements . . .'.³¹ And in connection to Burn's restoration of the east window tracery, he continued: 'Pray could you not get one of your clever lads to take the measurements of the East Window - and draw it to a scale - I am rather anxious to ascertain whither [sic] or not the double arch of the division actually terminates *below* the spring of the external arch. - as such is my impression - Pray think of this - there are nothing like facts'. Few lines later he says: '. . . so [we] will leave him that obscurity to which in after times his works will conjure him'.³²

There is no doubting the validity of Roberts's judgement on this issue of discontinuity in the appearance of the east window tracery. It certainly shows the artist's great interest in formal coherence and architectural accuracy. However we should

³⁰ A preliminary watercolour sketch dated 1845 of this frontispiece is in the V&A Print Room [Mus. No. FA 540]. For this see cat.33.

³¹ Letter from Roberts to Hay, only dated 1846 [National Library of Scotland, MS. 3522, f.41 recto]. In the list indicated by Roberts to Hay Melrose actually appears first, but a combination of brackets and underline makes it clear that Roberts's intention is to put Rosslyn's plate first.

³² *Ibid.* f.41 verso.

recognise that in bringing his particular sensibility to the building and seeking to preserve transient pictorial effects he was promoting a methodology that would certainly be unacceptable to modern restorers. He had brought those feelings implicit in any close contact with a work of art, in this case those of a Scottish icon, into creative collision with all, or at any rate most, of the practical considerations of his age. As Ballantine was stirred to write in the ending lines of Roberts's biography: 'It is always curious and often instructive, to note the little incidents in early life that often influence a man's career . . . Roslin Chapel had a large share in making him an architectural painter'³³ With hindsight we may also add that it was the perseverance of the Earl of Rosslyn and Burn in the face of Roberts's criticism which should be lauded today for without it Rosslyn Chapel might well have become another ruin in the British landscape.

³³ Ballantine, op.cit., p.236.

4.2. Britton's RIBA lecture

In January 1846 John Britton gave a lecture at the RIBA 'on the design, construction and architectural characteristics of the fragment of the Collegiate Church at Roslyn'. Most of the events relating to the debate that grew up as a consequence of Britton's RIBA lecture can be followed in the summary published in *The Builder* and some very particular notes made by Samuel Joseph Nicholl (1826-1905), who attended the lecture as a young member of the Institute. The author of the article in *The Builder* simplifies Britton's talk on the Chapel with a long quotation from Father Hay's manuscript,³⁴ whereas Nicholl traces a more interesting account of the paper, recording in few lines the debate that it aroused. 'Roslyn Chapel is a fragment of a building that may be called unique' he writes, 'and if it had been found on the banks of the Nile,

³⁴ At the lecture Britton reads the following lines from Hay's *Genealogie*: '...he builded the church walls of Rosline, haveing rounds with faire chambers, and galleries theron. . . . he builded the bridge under the castle, and sundrie office houses. In the south-east side therof, over against the chapell wall, he made plaine the rock on which the castle is builded, for the more strength therof, and he planted a very fair fruit orchard; but his adge creeping on him, made him consider how he had spent his time past, and how to spend that which was to come. Therfor, to the end he might not seem altogether unthankfull to God, for the benefices he receaved from him, it came in his minde to build a house for God's service, of most curios worke, the which, that it might be done with greater glory and splendour, he caused artificers to be brought from other regions and forraigne kingdomes, and caused dayly to be abundance of all kinde of workemen present, as masons, carpenters, smiths, barrowmen, and quarries, with others. . . . The foundation of this rare work he caused to be laid in the year of our Lord, 1446, and to the end the work might be more rare; first, he caused the draughts to be drawn upon Eastland boards, and made the carpenters to carve them according to the draughts thereon, and then gave them for patterns to the massons, that they might therby cut the like in stone; and because he thought the massones had not a convenient place to lodge in near the place where he builded this curious colledge, for the towne then stood half a mile from the place where it now stands, towitt, at Bilsdone burne, therefor he made them to build the towne of Rosline, that now is extant, and gave every one of them a house, and lands answerable therunto; so that this towne, att that time, by reason of the great concourse of people that had recourse unto the Prince, (for it is remembered of him that he entertained all his tennants that were any way impoverished, and made serve all the poore that came to his gates, so that he spent yearly upon such as came to beg att his gates 120 quarters meale,) became very populous, and had in it abundance of victualls, so that it was thought to be the chiefest towne in all Lothian, except Edinburgh and Hadingtone. He rewarded the massones according to their degree, as to the master massone he gave 40 pounds yearly, and to every one of the rest he gave 10 pounds, and accordingly did he reward the others, as the smiths and the carpenters with others'. From Hay, op.cit., pp.26-27. It is important to note that the author of the transcription of Hay's text in the *The Builder* (vol.IV, January 1846, pp.27-28) modernised the quotation in Victorian English and omitted the punctuation of the 1835 edition of the *Genealogie*.

every detail would have been delineated, and [a] most exaggerated account of its beauties published'.³⁵

According to the magazine, after tracing the history of the building, Britton described its several parts, and pointed out apparent peculiarities, such as the singular character of the details, the varieties of the arches, the crypt-like chamber connected with the east end. Nicholl notes comparisons with King's College Chapel in Cambridge and Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster,³⁶ and includes a curious sketch of a stone beam at Bristol Cathedral thought to be similar to that at Rosslyn. From the sketch it is not possible to follow the course of Britton's discourse, the only peculiarity of the drawing seeming to be an iron support added later probably during a phase of restoration. There is no account of 'a number of excellent drawings' shown to the audience, but we may suppose that Britton made good use of Gandy's published plates probably making large hand-painted diagrams for the occasion.³⁷

It is rare in architectural history to have two completely different versions of the same event with a chance to compare facts. When this happens it is hard to discern where the truth lies, since one account reports what seems to have been a fervid and heated, as a mild and well mannered public event in the other. This is apparent from

³⁵ Nicholl, Samuel Joseph, 'On the collegiate church or chapel at Roslyn [Roslin, Rosslyn] by John Britton read on 12 January 1846 (7 p., ill.)' in 'Notes made by Nicholl, while a member of the RIBA in the session 1845-1846'. See Angela Mace (ed.), *Architecture in Manuscript, 1601-1996: guide to the British Architectural Library manuscripts and archives collection*, London 1998, p.296. Nicholl's manuscript and sketches are kept at the RIBA Library [shelf mark Ref. RIBA/MS.SP./2/4].

³⁶ In Henry the Seventh's Chapel there is an ornament which was introduced in late Perpendicular Gothic style, and which is very characteristic in Rosslyn Chapel. This is sometimes called the 'Tudor flower', not because it was introduced in the time of the Tudors, but because it was very much used at that period. It generally consists of the fleur-de lis, alternately with a small trefoil or ball. At Roslin this feature is used as a stone cresting of the battlements on the east end walls. See, Jill Lever and John Harris, *Illustrated Dictionary of Architecture 800-1914*, London and Boston 1993, pp.41,90.

³⁷ The Manuscript Collection at British Library has two large anonymous drawings of Rosslyn Chapel: one of *The Lady Chapel Boss* [size 830 x 620 mm., shelf mark 31323 L4 (LLLL)] and another one representing *The Last three bays on the South side* [size 500 x 930 mm., shelf mark 31323 K4 (KKKK)]. The are both copied, with no doubt, from Gandy's plates published in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*. These water-colours are subdivided (the first one in four parts, the second one in six) and are mounted on canvas like an old map. Since these are 'easy to fold' drawings there is a strong possibility that they were used as lecture diagrams by Britton in 1846.

Nicholl's ingenuous notes where Professor Thomas Leverton Donaldson (1795-1885) remarked that 'in England we do not find any example of the middle age showing such bad detail as at Roslin'.³⁸ For the author of the article in *The Builder* Donaldson was merely 'anxious to hear the style of the building accounted for'! Though he spoke also of the 'great want of purity' observing that 'in England, there was no Gothic building whereof the details were impure'.³⁹ Now that Rosslyn was removed from an approving national context its architectural detail was subject to critical review. Many had spoken of its richness yet, in reality, the sculpture of the stonework is vigorous rather than fine and is not as accurately cut as one might expect. Donaldson, we should note, was not alone in expressing this unorthodox opinion on the quality of the Chapel: a little later the famous French architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc would describe the Apprentice Pillar as a bunch of sausages.⁴⁰

For Robert William Billings, who participated at the debate, the general style of the building, was the same as other buildings in Scotland, showing a mixture of styles but vulgarised by bad hands, however much of the design itself remained beautiful. He also drew the attention of the audience to the fact that a series of figures, similar to the 'Dance of Death'⁴¹, had been recently discovered on the arch rising from the north-

³⁸ Nicholl, op.cit., p.3. Donaldson in the year of Britton's lecture on Rosslyn was honorary secretary of the RIBA.

³⁹ *The Builder*, vol.IV, 1846, p.28.

⁴⁰ G.P.H. Watson, 'The Church in Medieval Scotland', in George Scott-Moncrieff (ed.), *The Stones of Scotland*, London 1938, p.47.

⁴¹ The Dance of Death motif (French: *danse macabre*; German *Totentanz*) originated no later than the early fifteenth century, and seems to have appeared first in France, before spreading to Germany, Italy, the Swiss cantons and even in Spain. In its original form it was an elongated mural painting, either in a church or on the walls of a churchyard or burial ground. It depicted a series of figures, both living and dead, in procession. The living figures are generally presented in the order of their social precedence on earth, and there is usually an alternating series of living forms and cadavers or skeletons. It has been suggested that the subject is really a dance of the dead, rather than a dance of death, which seems to be a valid distinction. See J.M.Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Glasgow, 1950. According to Clark: 'The medium employed for the forms of the work varies considerably. There are poems and prose works, manuscripts and printed books, paintings on wood, stone, or canvas, stained glass windows, sculptures, embroidery, tapestry, metal work, engravings on stone or metal, and woodcuts'. Clark's Appendix A, pp.114-118, offers a chronological list of paintings and sculptures, and a list of persons represented in each major surviving cycle, as parts of his attempt to compare the principle

eastern corner of the Chapel, and crossing diagonally over the northern-most bay of the Lady Chapel. William Burn, the architect for the restoration of the Chapel, also spoke at the meeting. While working at the building he had had the opportunity to investigate the Chapel, and caused an 'excavation, three feet wide, to be made from one end of the chapel to the other in the centre', the crypt and in each aisle. All had been dug down to the foundation; but 'nothing was found'.⁴² By excavating Burn believed he had disproved the traditional story, given currency by Sir Walter Scott, that ten barons of the family were buried in the Chapel or the crypt.

The Near East comparison – 'if Rosslyn Chapel been found on the bank of the Nile' – probably caught the attention of another person, invited to the lecture but who since he was not a member of the Institute had chosen to sit at the back. Burn can hardly have expected to see him there since we are talking about his major antagonist, David Roberts.⁴³ One peculiarity of Roberts, by which his popularity was enhanced in early Victorian Scotland, was his polemical opposition against anything Burn did to threaten the Chapel. Consequently the Rosslyn RIBA lecture became the theatre for a vehement dispute between the artist and the architect. The debate emerges from Roberts's personal letters to his Scottish friend Hay and from the contents of the recently discovered album 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel'. The latter completes the picture of what really happened since it contains the correspondence between Roberts and Britton, emphasising the artist's response to the Chapel itself and his disagreement with Burn's procedures. The following month Roberts was writing to Hay his impressions of the meeting:

examples with one another. In the introduction of *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (1845), Billings refers to the *Dance of Death*. He cites comparisons with Vincent de Beauvais as a (much earlier) iconographic source for this imagery, which may otherwise be found in Amiens Cathedral.

⁴² *The Builder*, op.cit., p.28.

⁴³ The tone of the criticism infuriated Roberts who sent a long and petulant account of the meeting to Hay, using phrases such as 'far worse, miserable impostors such as Burn'. See, letter to Hay from Roberts, dated 30 January 1846 [National Library of Scotland MS. 3522, ff.31-33].

I rec.^d an invitation from Little Briton to attend a Lecture he was to deliver upon Roslin Chapel, which took place as you are aware at the Architects Institute Grosvenor S.^q I of course accepted of it – although personally known almost to every member and ended on the most friendly terms with all the leading members - I was rather surprized to find your friend B. take his place beside the President - and seemed really to be a person of great consequence I mean in laying down the laws, upon certain disputed points in a very decided and authoritative [sic] manner – and such was the weight they seemed to / carry with them that no one was bold enough to dispute them . . .

When asked by some of the members whither [sic] he could throw any light upon the peculiar style / as varying from that of all others, he seemed a *little abroad* - but at last venturing to give an opinion on the apprentices pillar – that the history given by The Old Woman who used to describe it was the correct one – Viz. that the apprentice really was the most talented of the two the master being as he supposed a *paukey* (these are his own words) man - and ergo ignorant, (I by no means see that should follow – [sic] took advantage of the superior Talent of his pupil - But upon a question being put to him whither [sic] he could consider that the Master Mason, who designed Roslin Chapel – he very wisely in my opinion declined answering and sat down – I daresay he now thinks it would have been as well had he continued to sit, or at least held his tongue – for afterwards the lecturer had occasion to draw the attention of the members to a suggestion [sic] thrown out by me, - That upon a close examination of the East end or *Chancel* – I found the whole had been removed outwards to give room for the service of the Various Chapels – This seemed to take him so much by surprise – Whither [sic] from the novelty of the thing or / at my presumption - that he at once contradicted – and affirmed that the present appearance is a part and whole of the original design.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Letter from Roberts to Hay, London 30 January 1846 [National Library of Scotland, MS. 3522, ff.31r-32v]. 'B-' is how mostly Roberts refers to Burn in his letters to Hay.

Roberts was the first person to comment on the great peculiarity of the internal east wall of the chapel where the springers for the ribs of the vaulting are set not in the side of the wall but on a system of corbels projecting far from it. He contended that the east end wall had been pulled down after the vaulting was finished, and rebuilt three feet further back, and the top of the wall-shafts corbelled out as they now are to meet the groin ribs. He also endeavoured to prove his thesis from the fact that the buttresses at the north and south-east angles of the east front had been connected with those of the north and south fronts by a splay in the wall which was in itself most unusual.⁴⁵ For Burn, who was caught on the hop by this proposal, the aisle at the east end, which is considerably wider than the side aisle, was part of the original design and was never intended to have been the same width. He considered that the altars were probably in the same style as the Chapel and that the crucial measurement related to the distance from the pillars to the altars was equal to the width of the aisles. Roberts did not accept Burn's hypothesis as he believed that the evidence of the structure proved that the Lady Chapel had undergone a radical transformation since it was first built. He was given no proper response to this proposal and, dumbfounded 'by the abuse of Sir Walter',⁴⁶ and the boldness of Burn's assertions, left the meeting in disgust.

The location of the eastern buttresses and the bay spacing at the east end is a real oddity of the plan [fig.66, cat.34.3 and 68.2]. Normally the eastern, or corner, buttress of each aisle would align with the end of the east wall. At Roslin the buttress is set further into the building, to the extent that its eastern corner aligns on the plan with the inside rather than the outside of the east wall. One would also expect that the angle between the eastern buttress and the adjoining buttress in the east wall would be a

⁴⁵ See, Andrew Kerr, 'The Collegiate Church or Chapel of Rosslyn, its Builders, Architect, and Construction', *Proceeding of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. XII, 1878, p.225.

⁴⁶ Letter from Roberts to Hay, London 30 January 1846 [National Library of Scotland MS. 3522, f.32 verso].

simple right angle. Instead the discrepancy in alignment is masked by a broad diagonal section of masonry between the side and end buttresses. Why was this irregular arrangement adopted? The eastern bay is longer than the others and if the buttresses had been normally positioned this would have shown up clearly on the external elevation. The arrangement adopted masks this discrepancy and gives the illusion that externally the eastern bay is actually the same width as the rest.

Juggling with the plan is also apparent on the interior. The aisle windows in the eastern bay are centred between the buttresses, which means that on the internal elevation they are set considerably to one side (the west) of the actual bay centre [fig.67, cat.34.2]. The ribbed vaults of the eastern chapels are aligned with the windows arch. In fact on the north side the window is west of centre so that the ridge ribs are set at an angle to meet the window head. In effect the vaults are planned to fit square bays, rather than the physical space they cover, which is rectangular. To accommodate the square-planned vaults the eastern vault springers responds are massively corbelled out and this has been turned into a decorative feature by the introduction of large diagonal pendants. Was this the intended design, or is it, as Roberts believed, an expedient caused by juggling with the bay spacings? The lower vault springers, below the pendants, seem conventional enough. In fact they seem hardly adequate to support the cantilevered structure above. The arrangement of the pendants and their jointing is careless, badly designed and clumsily executed. This suggests expediency, rather than careful planning. Though the effect is breathtaking since it gives the impression that the eastern ribs of the vaults are hanging unsupported in space.

It is Roberts's great quality that, through a careful examination of the structure of the building, he was in a position to put forward a new interpretation of the Chapel's evolution which cannot be discounted and may well be correct. He wrote about it to John Britton, stating his reasons for reaching the conclusion that he had and

accompanied his letter with a section and ground plan in which he highlighted with a red ink line the original wall of the east end [fig.66-67]. These drawings - all preserved in the album 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel' – were also sent to Burn 'affording him the opportunity of retracting what he said'.⁴⁷

In the face of this evidence Britton felt it was necessary to send a separate communication to the members of the Institute.

In the paper I read at the Architectural Institute, it appears from Mr.Roberts's remarks, that I was not sufficiently explanatory about the *extraordinary construction* of the eastern wall, and the alterations effected by rebuilding it after it had been once raised. I certainly did not make any comments or criticism on Mr Roberts's ingenious and original theory; but intimated that I agreed with him in believing the wall does not occupy the site as at first planned and intended by the architect. It occurred to me on a cursory consideration of the subject, that the whole plan had been marked out on the ground, from the '*draughts drawn on eastland boards*', which were '*carved by the carpenters*' as described in Father's Hay MSS., and that when the masons had carried up the walls and the pillars of the whole building to a certain height, and had also *prepared* much of the superstructure, particularly those remarkable stone beams, or lintels which extend over the aisles, and their connecting vaultings, the architect discovered that the space at the east end, between the easternmost pillars and the wall, was not wide enough for the religious services at the

⁴⁷ According to Roberts, in a letter to Hay dated 30 January 1846, he received a reply only from John Britton: 'I rec.^d a very civil but I must say guarded note expressing his regret that in having *ventured* to differ in my opinion from me he had given me cause of offence - But offering to forwarded [sic] them to the Secretary and I - together *with any farther* communications I might wish to make bring them before the Institute at their next meeting -

In reply to this I wrote to thank him for his kind offer and accepting it – at the same time stating that after his courtesy I should have the whole explanation in his hands'. [National Library of Scotland, MS. 3522, ff.32v-33r]. John Britton in his letter of apology, London 20 January 1846, wrote: 'Thanks, my dear Sir, for your Communications about Roslyn, & for the interest you take in such works. - I hope nothing will occur to prevent my attendance at the next meet[ing] of the Architects Instit[ute] when I hope an opportunity will be afford.^{ed} for me, & Mr Burn, to enter into some explanation, for the purpose of doing you justice. - Such a *discovery* is worth fighting for, & I regret that you did not come foreword on the former evening, when the drawings were present -

You may be assured that I will take some opportunity of bringing the subject before the Instit[ute]'

[National Library of Scotland, Acc.7967/1, Mf. MS. 381, 1846].

four altars, placed under so many windows in that wall. This I believe is Mr. Roberts's opinion, and I do not feel inclined to doubt, much less to dispute it. But as the subject is very curious, and perhaps unparalleled in architectural construction, I would recommend a careful examination of the eastern wall in conjunction with those on the north and south sides, and particularly the positions and formation of the angular buttresses. Further, let the ground be excavated and explored, to ascertain if there be any remains of foundation between the present eastern wall and the three pillars.⁴⁸

The debate was about to enter a second phase when Roberts addressed a subsequent meeting of RIBA members in defence of the romantic stories told about the building in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. Britton had criticised Scott's poem in which he said that there were ten mistakes made in reference to Rosslyn. According to Roberts:

The Lecturer . . . concluded by stating that however poetical the legend might be – the whole tradition was a tissue of *falsehoods* – ended [sic] - that in about twenty lines were contained as many falsehoods – in which he was followed by our distinguished Architect who instead of . . . throwing some light – on the singular construction . . . quaint ornaments and grotesque sculpture – told us that he had dug a Trench up the centre and latteral [sic] Asles [sic] of the Chapel – and having only found *one* vault with a wooden coffin, he could perfectly confirm all that Mr Briton [sic] had said – and that the whole thing was a *falsehood*.⁴⁹

Roberts knew that the origin of this story was in Father Hay's account, which, as well as referring to the Sinclair Barons buried in their armour, entered into minute detail

⁴⁸ *The Builder*, vol.IV, 1846, p.64.

⁴⁹ Letter from Roberts to Hay, London 30 January 1846 [National Library of Scotland, MS.3522, f.31 verso].

on the appearance of the last baron buried in his armour when his grave or vault was opened up.⁵⁰

Now the opinion of most I have spoken to on the subject competent to judge is that the crypt or small Chapel was devoted to that purpose and that they were placed in stone coffins, which we know was the case at Holyrood and like those also, at the breaking out of the reformation these would be amongst the first to be ransacked and pillaged - The supernatural light - I consider may be also equally [sic] and simply explained - on the Burial [sic] of one of so great a family - the religious display and pomp would be magnificent the Chapel will be lighted up for the funeral mass - and the removal of the body to its final resting place would be by torch light - the remembrance of this - as contrasted with the sad reverse of this once proud family - would attach [sic] to the whole thing a supernatural origin - hence the tradition.⁵¹

The principal point at dispute was, whether or not the 'ten barons' in their mail, were ever buried in the Chapel. The discussion become rather too extended, until a member of the Institute 'humorously terminated' it by quoting the following words: 'The Knights are dead; their swords are rust, Their spirits with the Lord, I trust'.⁵²

Britton's reaction, to Roberts's defence, may be gathered from a letter dated 3 February 1846, which he sent to the RIBA, which was also published in *The Builder*.

⁵⁰ In this case Roberts refers to the following passage in Father Hay's *Genealogie*: 'When my goodfather was buried, his corps seemed to be intire att the opening of the cave, but when they came to touch his body it fell into dust: he was laying in his armour, with a red velvet cap on his head on a flat stone: nothing was spoild except a piece of white furring that went round the cap, and answered to the hinder part of the head. All the predecessors were buried after the same manner in their armour'. Hay, op. cit., p.154.

⁵¹ Letter from Roberts to Hay, London 30 January 1846 [National Library of Scotland, MS.3522, ff.33v-34r].

⁵² *The Builder*, op.cit., p.51. The member of the Institute refers humorously to the following lines of a celebrated poem by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834): 'The Knight's bones are dust, / And his good

I learn that Mr. Roberts brought before the members of the Architects' Institute some remarks on the paper I read there on the 12th of the last month. As I was not present at the meeting, and my statement or judgement is impeached, I beg you will do me the justice to give insertion to the following brief remarks in self-justification. On quoting the following lines from Sir Walter Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel', I said there were almost as many errors, or mis-statements, as lines; at the same time passed a high eulogium on the commanding talents of that accomplished author. Before reading the stanzas I observed, 'This building, as well as most of the old edifices of the country, has some marvellous story, or silly romance, or incredible legend connected with it. Such matters may serve as themes to embellish or diversify the stanzas of a poem, the pages of a novel, or the annals of a fabulous chronicle, but are unworthy of notice, by the architectural antiquary, or philosophical historian.'⁵³

At this point of the letter Britton presents a new version of Sir Walter Scott's famous passage where the ten mistakes are printed in italic types:

Seemed all on fire, that *chapel* proud,
Where Roslin's chiefs *uncoffin'd* lie;
Each baron for a sable shroud,
Sheathed in his *iron* panoply.
Seem'd all on fire within, around
Deep *sacristy* and altar's pale;
Shone *every pillar foliage* bound,
And *glimmered* all the dead men's *mail*;
Blazed *battlement*, and *pinnet* high,
Blazed every rose-carved buttress fair;

sword rust; -- / His soul is with the saints, I trust.' See *The Knight's Tomb* in Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The poetical works of S.T. Coleridge*, vol.II, London 1834, p.65.

So still they blaze, when fate is nigh

The lordly line of high St.Clair.⁵⁴

Britton points out that the lines are quoted not to afford any architectural or historical information, but to show the general 'fictions and fallacies of poetry'. And in order to explain them he writes the following text:

Although there are not quite so many errors or mis-statements as lines, the number of words in italics shew that they are very nearly so. The building is not a *chapel*; it was erected and founded as a collegiate *church*, and had it been completed, would have been a large and splendid edifice. The best authorities that I have consulted do not say any thing of *uncoffin'd* chiefs in *iron* panoply; nor is it likely that such ever could be allowed. Putrified dead bodies would have excluded living ones from the church. There is no appearance of *sacristy*. Instead of *every pillar foliage bound*, there is only one thus adorned; and this has given origin to a puerile story, which the old female cicerone of the building may repeat and believe, though none but an old woman will give two moments' credence to. I believe there are not any *battlements* to the building, and I do not know that the world *pinnet* is either architectural or archaeological.⁵⁵

While Roberts and Britton seemed to have come to a degree of understanding following this controversy. Burn remained obdurate. In the last letter to Hay on this subject the artist writes that he has no intention to be a bore:

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.64.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Britton continues the letter with the following words: 'Let it not be imagined by the reader that I make these remarks with any ungenerous or unkind feelings towards the author of the inimitable "Waverley Novels", whom I had the pleasure and honour of knowing and corresponding with in life, and whose memory and merits I revere, in death. His works have been read and admired by millions of people, and have afforded me, with other readers, indescribable [sic] gratification and delight. The youthful reader should, however, be warned against errors, mis-statements, and misrepresentations even of popular authors'.

... with some curse about the Great Burn - I have heard nothing farther of him, nor yet do I know whether he has ever again shown face in the Institute, Britton [sic] like a true briton has recanted and with drawn his asertions [sic], respecting the Great Sir Walter - him and I are friends once more –

The other remains dogged and too proud I suppose to admit he was wrong – there let him rest.⁵⁶

To return to the recently discovered album 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel', it is important to note the care which Britton gave to the preparation of his lecture which the papers reveal. As an author Britton made meticulous notes about the building which he had been studying for a number of years and used to the full his Scottish contacts in procuring up-to-date information about it. He asked the young architect of the Scott monument, George Meikle Kemp (1794-1844), to visit Rosslyn to inspect the flat arches over the side aisles in order to produce a drawing representing the section of the building and showing its method of construction [fig.77, cat.21.1]. Kemp's section was later to be reproduced as a diagram for the lecture.⁵⁷ Alongside Gandy, Roberts, Kemp, and James Fergusson (1808-1886), Britton's intricate network also included Edinburgh librarians like David Laing (1793-1878), Keeper of the Signet Library, and David Irving (1778-1860), Keeper of the Advocates Library, both of whom contributed scientifically to the historical analysis which he later presented. Even the eminent Sir Walter Scott, who became one of Britton's correspondents during the publication of the *Architectural Antiquities*, copied personally two different versions of the Mason's Charter of 1630, from Father Hay's manuscripts. Although Scott had died

⁵⁶ Letter from Roberts to Hay, London 23 March 1846 [National Library of Scotland, MS. 3522, f.35 recto].

⁵⁷ Album 'Documents', p.7.

in 1832, Britton did not forget to mention and acknowledge the Scottish poet fourteen years later when writing: 'Roslin Chapel is one of the singularities of Christian Architecture, and to Sir Walter I am indebted for the communication of some curious documents illustrative of its origin and history'.⁵⁸

The section which Kemp prepared for Britton in 1839 adds on one further twist to a complicated story. The English architectural writer, quite rightly, was anxious to understand the construction principles on which the architecture of the Chapel was based and turned to Kemp as a Scotsman knowledgeable on the local late-medieval styles for his assistance. The album 'Documents' contains the drawing which Kemp sent: a cross section of one aisle and half nave, but sadly for Britton no reference was made to the east-west section that Roberts was to find so intriguing. Moreover this survey made by Kemp is very similar to a section made by the English architect Edward Cressy which was engraved and published in the late 1830s.⁵⁹

The contribution of Edward Cressy (1792-1858) is interesting since his engraving of Rosslyn appears not in an antiquarian or strictly architectural publication but in a work of engineering entitled *Practical Treatise on Bridge Building and on the Equilibrium of Vaults and Arches* (1839). In his work on Bridges, one plate with three sectional engravings of Rosslyn Chapel [fig.75, cat.82] is included to show the principles by which medieval architects achieved balance and stability in their masses. To effect this, Cressy maintained, a perfect knowledge of geometry was required.⁶⁰ At Rosslyn this was clearly demonstrated in the circumstance that, as the arch became

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.3.

⁵⁹ It is important to note that Kemp's survey drawing shows two existing flying buttresses which are not recorded by Cressy in his North to South section of the Chapel.

⁶⁰ According to Cressy: 'From a view of these sections, it is apparent that the principal upon which they are set out has its origin in the equilateral triangle; it determines the height and the breadth, the mass and the void'. See Edward Cressy, *A Practical Treatise on Bridge Building and on the Equilibrium of Vaults and Arch, with professional Life and Work of John Rennie (1761-1821)*, London, 1839, p.3.

flatter and the force of its expansion necessarily greater, the walls and buttresses were proportionally increased.

According to Cresy the structural design of Rosslyn Chapel is extremely simple. The eastern chapels show that the masons were quite capable of building ribbed vaults, however the main vaulting scheme reverted to using barrel vaults which were a common feature of late medieval Scottish architecture. At Rosslyn the high barrel vault is combined with a full Gothic buttressing system with double banks of pinnacles and flying buttresses. Cresy accurately measured all these elements to enable the practical architect to deduce from them the principles of their construction.

As to the subsequent history of the album 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel', it would appear that Andrew Kerr (d.1887), the architect of the 1880s extension to the west front of the Chapel, had access to it when compiling the long and stimulating study of Rosslyn which he published in the *Proceeding of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* in 1877. Kerr quotes directly from Britton's correspondence and also makes use of Edward Cresy's studies completed in 1839 and John R. Thompson⁶¹ geometrical analysis of the building signed and dated 1840, which are all bound in the volume. Thompson clearly referred to Cresy while making his own drawing of the Chapel.⁶² He was especially interested in the hypothesis advanced by Cresy on proportion in Gothic architecture and the inherent understanding of geometry possessed by medieval architects. In reference to these ideas he superimposed on Cresy's section a geometrical pattern of a six point star relating to the proportions of the Chapel [fig.76, cat.38]. Kerr, having seen this study, without acknowledging the author developed the same concept

⁶¹ John R. Thomson, the custodian of the Chapel between 1840s and 1860s, had a very strong interest in all the architectural aspects of the building. He was also an amateur photographer and compiled a photograph album with many views of the building for Hezekiah Merrick of Eskill House, owner of the Roslin Gunpowder Mills. The photograph album by Thomson is kept in the RCAHMS; see cat.119.

⁶² The outline of the section corresponds to plate 68 published by Cresy in his *Practical Treatise*. A copy of Cresy's *Roslyn Chapel Section through the Nave* is contained in the album 'Documents', see appendix, item no.51.

for plate XII in his essay on Rosslyn [cat.91.2], and explained that 'a geometrical figure based upon a circle, the diameter equal to the width of the building, applies to the section, defining not only the proportion, but the construction of the edifice'.⁶³

Britton's meticulous collection of papers in the album of 'Documents', illustrates in an unusually dramatic manner, not only new and unknown aspects of in the evolution of the visual history of the Chapel, but also a remarkable instance of the intriguing process by which many architects of the nineteenth-century added their contribution to the modern concept of the building. As Britton was stirred to write, 'instead of the vast architectural planet, the cathedral' we should confine ourselves 'to one of its satellites, the Chapel of Roslyn'.⁶⁴

In the words pronounced by Britton, Roberts, and Cresy we can read a modern sense of historical consciousness. With their thoughts they provided a new approach founded on respect for the past - not any more on purely aesthetics responses - but based on the building's significance as a monument of the nation's architecture.

⁶³ Kerr, op.cit., p.226.

⁶⁴ Album 'Documents', p.18.

4.3. The 'Antique replicas' controversy.

In 1860 responsibility for the works of restoration at Rosslyn passed to David Bryce, one-time chief clerk and later the partner of William Burn from 1841 to 1850. Bryce had a lively appreciation of the 'sculpturesque' character of many old Scottish buildings and his concern at Rosslyn was to consolidate the decorative detail with which the building was loaded. Operations were commenced initially for the purpose of enclosing the family graves and executing some necessary repairs on the east end of the Chapel. At that time there was no intention that the building should be used again as a place of worship. That idea seems to have originated with a family of Episcopalians who lived in the vicinity and felt it was inconvenient to go to Edinburgh every Sunday. In looking for a new church the Episcopalians seem also to have promoted the notion of cleaning down the walls and the carving.⁶⁵

The full scope of the work undertaken by Bryce is difficult to ascertain with certainty. Four letters written by the architect to Lord Rosslyn survive giving information on what repairs were in hand between 1859 and 1861. And there is visual proof that alterations were carried out in the collection of drawings and photographs which date from before and after the restoration. As had happened with Britton, Burn and David Roberts, the employment in the restoration of the interior of a practically minded professional like Bryce was to provoke a storm of protest against both the extent of what was done and indeed the whole idea of restoration. In letters to the national press the leave-well-alone zealots had usually the upper hand – their fulminations

⁶⁵ An article published in May 1861 states that the Chapel was to 'be opened at Whitsunday' quotes the views of two young Episcopalians. See *The Scotsman*, 7 May 1861, p.3. In a later communication these views are denied: 'It has been stated that it was intended that Roslin Chapel should be opened for divine service at Wistunday. We learn, however, that such has not been the intention, and that it will yet be five or six weeks before the service is commenced. We are also informed that the restorations which for some time past have been going on, have nothing to do with the arrangements for the occupation of the edifice as an Episcopalian place of worship'. See *The Scotsman*, 18 May 1861, p.2, IV. The Chapel was rededicated on Tuesday, 22 April 1862, by the Bishop of Edinburgh.

provided entertaining column inches for the editor – yet it must be said that however quick Bryce's critics were to expose a weakness in his methods they display a remarkable reluctance to identify the exact location of his supposed irresponsible actions.

A letter to the Earl, dated 16 March 1859, introduces us immediately to the detail and practical nature of Bryce's concerns:

I had altered the cope stone of the altars, making the one a plain moulding and the other a splay, leaving one as originally intended that your Lordship might see the effect in the different ways; and having turned up different authorities on the subject, ~~that~~ I find that it is not inconsistent to have an ornamental cope, but will attend to your Lordships [sic] wish to have Ropes – the running ornament would in my opinion look better. I entirely approve of the Monumental Brasses in the floor.

There has been a small altar at the window over the stair down, finishing at the top in a level with the window sill – this I propose to restore, and also to put a landing place over the stair, sufficiently broad to admit of a person standing in the front of the altar - this can be done and leave ample head room for the stair. And there can be little doubt that such a landing has existed - It is however not necessary that this should be done at present unless wished by your Lordship - With regard to the Burial Vault, I intend to cover over the grave in the centre compartment, about 5.3 below the level of the pavement, and then to form a catacomb on each side of the space, this would give space for three burials in that compartment as shown, but if two are only required a little less width would be sufficient - I apprehend [sic] that the graves in the centre will be deep enough to admit of this, without being disturbed, [sic]

My idea of the Railing was to make it portable extending between the pillars but not touching them, inserted into iron or Brass sockets sunk into the stone work – not to be higher than 3.6 above the floor and to be very light, and it should return along the old seat

which forms the parapet wall of the stair down, placed close to the outside so that a person could not walk between the Railing and Stair.⁶⁶

From this extract it is clear that Bryce tried not to do any work that he considered might diminish the overall integrity of the Chapel's original plan. He was careful to consider historical precedents when designing the case for the Altar, and he was also convinced that there was once a landing place at the stair and so was happy to place a new one there. The altar and stair he refers to were those at the east end, next to the entrance to the Crypt. It is evident from comparing the photographs of William Donaldson Clark and George Washington Wilson that there was indeed some work carried out in this part of the building. Clark's photograph of the east end taken in the 1850s [fig.78, cat.112.2], shows crumbling stonework at the head of the stair; whereas Wilson's photograph [fig.79], taken after the completion of the restoration, demonstrates how the stone was built up and replaced. The two photographs of the east end reveal many other differences in the Chapel's fabric. In Wilson's photograph there is a railing between the Apprentice Pillar and its neighbour. While there is no sign of this fixture in the earlier photograph by Clark. It is probable therefore that the rail is the one referred to in Bryce's letter. In Wilson's photograph the rail does not touch the central pier: instead it stands between the piers, exactly as Bryce intended. Repair work is also apparent in the piers themselves: that in the foreground of Clark's photograph has a hole three-quarters of the way up but by the time of Wilson's visit the hole had been filled in. Various other differences may be noted: the glazing seems to have been substituted; the sculptural carvings appear more precise in the later record; and the base

⁶⁶ National Archives of Scotland, GD 164/1014/1.

of the Apprentice Pillar has been replaced.⁶⁷

While study of the visual records can be useful in clarifying the changes that were made at Rosslyn, it can also be misleading. A good example of this is provided by the drawings and photographs of the Mason's Pillar in the south-east corner of the Lady Chapel. Three visual records of the Pillar show it with a plain shaft: Blore's view of 1826 [cat.75.1], Swarbreck's lithograph dated 1837 [cat.79.3] and Begbie's 1860 photograph [fig.80, cat.113.17]. In contrast to these is Wilson's photograph of the Mason's Pillar taken in the 1880s, where the internal faces on the shaft of the pillar – two on each side – are clearly carved [fig.81, cat.116.6]. From this one could deduce that Bryce decided to alter the appearance of the Mason's Pillar with little regard for its original design, since his rather free-willing approach to the fabric of the Chapel is exactly what is constantly opposed by the architect's critics. However, in a letter dated 4 June 1861 Bryce writes to the Earl explaining a recent observation:

. . . I am not sure that your Lordship is aware that the Pillar in the opposite side and corresponding with the Apprentices Pillar has at one time been ornamented not in a spiral form but with upright ornament and at some previous repair the ornament has been partly cut out and new stone without carving introduced, the other stones where entire being plastered over.⁶⁸

This could be seen as evidence of two things: firstly that Bryce, by carving the Mason's Pillar was restoring it to its original design, and secondly, that either Burn had covered over the original carving, or more probably that there had been some earlier repairs carried out at the Chapel which are undocumented.

⁶⁷ It is the amount of restored masonry at the base which leads to the conclusion that it has largely been replaced. It is also important to note that around the base are intertwined eight dragons which in the later photograph appear re-carved.

There is little further evidence of what exactly was done by Bryce at Rosslyn Chapel. Early photographs of the Chapel do indicate however, that a primary focus of Bryce's restoration must have been the carvings as they are visibly more defined in later photographs, and it was here that Bryce's methods and approach to architectural conservation met criticism head-on.

In the modern world it is often hard to credit the extent to which Victorian people could be engaged in local causes or the intensity with which the expression of different views were joined. Rosslyn in 1860 to 1861 became a *cause célèbre* of national significance. If we want to catch the flavour of the debate caused by this second phase of restoration, it is papers such as, *The Scotsman*, *The Times*, *The Builder*, and *The Building News*, which- because they report the opinions of anonymous writers, men who hid their identities under pseudonymous – best convey the intensity of the feelings of that time.⁶⁹

The debate, as is so often the case in conservation matters, formed on the issue of what was necessary and whether the restorers had attempted to do too much. Lord Rosslyn, his architect and builders were practically minded men who focused their attention on real problems and, no doubt, were anxious to do a good job. Their critics are people of sensibility who have the distinct impression that things are going airy and that it is time to call and halt to proceedings which they feel unnecessary and which they do not totally understand.

One of the most heated and provocative letters of the controversy appeared in *The Scotsman* on 7 May 1861. The author of the text, under the pseudonym of Randolph, gives us an emotional account of the 'deplorable Moodification [sic]' at the Chapel.

⁶⁸ National Archives of Scotland, GD 164/1014/6.

⁶⁹ The relevant references are: *The Scotsman* from May to July 1861; 'The Restoration at Roslin Chapel', *The Builder*, vol.XIX, 29 June 1861, p.443; 'Roslin Chapel', *The Building News*, vol.VII, 5 July 1861, p.560; and *The Times*, 20 June 1861, p.12.

According to Randolph the restored Apprentice Pillar which Bryce had had re-tooled appeared diminished in diameter by 'this decortication', while its delicate and wonderful tints were completely gone leaving the pillar 'scraped, peeled, flayed, standing row, naked and ashamed . . . a lamentable result of the *nimia diligentia*, which works such havoc in our world.'⁷⁰ This scraping was to be carried out on each of the other piers in what was defined by Randolph as 'a process as difficult and as ruinous to all beauty and life as would be the barking of a noble oak.'

The accusatory tone of the letter to *The Scotsman*, becomes stronger when Randolph refers to the responsibility of Lord Rosslyn, who though 'noble in his tastes as well as in presence and in name,' was not sufficiently aware of the fact that the Chapel was a 'priceless record of the past,' and a 'unique relic of the genius of its time and of its art.' Lord Rosslyn, he argues, has to be convinced that in this case 'restoration is not preservation, but destruction.'

Suppose you have a dear old lady, beautiful in youth, beautiful still - not in defiance of old age, but because of it. There she sits, graceful, becoming, with the harmony of the time and goodness, and, it may be, the touch of sorrow overcome, all about her; with the pathetic beauty and delightfulness of repose and peace, in manner, in voice, in thought and feeling, in dress, in posture - subdued to settled quiet, waiting till her time comes, 'in the world, not of it.' Fancy your going in some morning and finding her 'restored', sitting bolt upright in a cloud of crinoline; her once silvery hair, which lay like a gentle moonlit cloud on her forehead, 'restored' by being removed, and somebody else's staring black tresses instead; her cheek blooming *ab extra*, her cheeks plumped out *ab intra*, and all the other horrors of artificial rejuvenescence - imagine your anger, and humiliation, and distress. Such is pretty much what is being done to that dear old Ladye Chapel of ours.

⁷⁰ *The Scotsman*, 7 May 1861, p.3, I. All quotations given below are from this source.

An interesting reply to this letter was published two days after. The sender, a man who signs himself as Shandwick, explains that if the Apprentice Pillar has been scraped and peeled, it will be also quickly restored, and that nothing can be said to prevent Lord Rosslyn carrying out, in their 'full integrity', the restoration he had ordered. Moreover although the building was mutilated by the iconoclasts of the Reformation period and latterly by curiosity-hunting tourists chipping off portions of the ornaments to enrich their collections, it looked to him to be in an excellent state of repair. He writes:

On reading 'Randolph's' epistle, I have no doubt prudent people will deeply regret that he had chanced to see operations in the Chapel until they had been finished. I would not like to quote the old Scotch proverb to 'Randolph'; but I would simply put to him the question - If the old lady to whom he refers were to be peeled of her old dress, would he not prefer to have her redressed, than to have her set in her old chair in a state of nakedness?⁷¹

It may be of interest here to quote the sarcastic reaction to this letter from another anti-restorer:

Your correspondent, Shandwick, seems highly delighted with the operations, and hopes that they will be carried out to their 'full integrity'. I am surprised that he does not propose to paper and paint the old lady of Roslin, now that she has been deprived of nature's dress, and doomed to sit in naked stone, as she will be sure to catch cold.⁷²

One of the most remarkable images representing the actual state of the Chapel, immediately before the restorations by Bryce were begun, is a watercolour by James

⁷¹ *The Scotsman*, 9 May 1861, p.3, II.

⁷² *The Scotsman*, 28 May 1861, p.2, IV.

Adam Houston (1813-1884) who romantically inserted Sir Walter Scott seated near the Apprentice Pillar in the Lady Chapel completely covered by lichens and mosses [fig.68, cat.43].⁷³ Though to a modern eye the wet stone and damp infested structure is appalling it is just this decayed state of the building which an anonymous artist celebrated in a letter to *The Scotsman* in 1861. He is scandalised by the fact that the main characteristics of the place - 'the features which render it in the eyes of my profession such an object of interest, of study, and of affection'⁷⁴ - were to be forever lost. It was, he thought, 'one of the very few ecclesiastical remains in this country to which, with reference to the interior of the building, the term *picturesque* could be applied.'⁷⁵ The gulf which separated this picturesque appreciation from the aims of the practical restorer is delightfully set forth in a later passage from this letter. Not only was Rosslyn 'a most perfect specimen of art,' but nature, as it were, 'taking up the work where man had left it, after it had ceased to serve the religious purposes for which it was founded,' had 'put forth to it her own wondrous hand, bestowing on it a grace beyond the reach of art, winning it back to herself; not destructively, ruthlessly, or contemptuously, but gently and kindly, adorning it with lichens and mosses and delicate ferns, making it all the year round a *place of summer greenerie*.'⁷⁶

Bryce's restoration rapidly changed this *picturesque* character of the interior. With the cleaning and rechiselling of the piers, the architectural lines were made hard and regular, while the green colouring was destroyed to bring to the surface a bright yellow sandstone as *The Scotsman*'s first correspondent wrote 'a mechanical look was

⁷³ Houston was a Scottish historical genre painter and watercolourist. The painting in question titled 'Sir Walter Scott in Roslin Abbey' was on display at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1855.

⁷⁴ *The Scotsman*, 7 May 1861, p.3, I. This letter is published under the pseudonymous of 'An Artist' with Randolph's letter to the editor.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

creeping over it.’⁷⁷ In another letter published a few days later, a curious visitor to the Chapel gives a more detailed account of the procedures adopted. He is greatly opposed to the use of new sandstone on the exterior that will never harmonise with the old - ‘tinting may hide the evil for a little, but it will soon be thrown out by the weather’ - and he is scandalised by the thoroughness of the reworking Bryce proposed: ‘The cherubs are to be provided with new noses, and the seven deadly sins are to be chiselled and purified by ruthless muriatic acid.’⁷⁸

Quaint things they must have been originally, but look at them now, without one particle of originality, expression, or grotesqueness, and it is well known that these are the great features of the carvings in Roslin Chapel. Compare the faces of the old figures with those of the new. The first are as full of quaintness and expression as the others are devoid of them. There is one bracket in particular that I should like to call attention to. All that remains of the original was a pair of wings reversed, and the end of a rope. Now, that puzzled the modern sculptor not a little. Well, what has he made of it? Why he has simply turned an ordinary individual upside down, with something like a night-shirt on, a flat expressionless face, his hands stretched out betwixt his toes, and the rope passing very gently and gracefully round them.⁷⁹

Notwithstanding these public attacks, Lord Rosslyn’s intentions were fully carried out. The idea was to go on with the cobbling up of the carvings and rechiselling of any of the pillars except the three eastmost, for one of which the surface was completely redressed. To furnish the chancel, new stone altars with the Sinclair cross carved on them were built however these were judged to be ‘clumsy structures, very like small

⁷⁷ *The Scotsman*, 28 May 1861, p.2, IV.

⁷⁸ *The Scotsman*, 9 May 1861, p.3, II.

⁷⁹ *The Scotsman*, 28 May 1861, p.2, IV.

kitchen dressers.⁸⁰ The broken pieces of architecture near the entrance to the crypt, as recorded in Thomas Kemp's sketches [cat.41], were mended with solid masonry, creating a stone bench attached to the Apprentice Pillar.⁸¹ The placing of an iron railing around the Lady Chapel was probably no doubt dictated by notions of pure concern, to prevent the public constantly walking over Lady Rosslyn's grave. The mason hewing a new step at the south door is clearly recorded by the *provocateur* 'Hair Pencil', who states that the time worn entrance 'over which no one ever stepped without turning round to gaze upon and admire it; the joy of every artist, the most perfect thing of its kind in Britain, is to have a new step, yes, a span new step, sharp, and square, to keep the water out.'⁸² The result of this intervention can easily be identified by a comparison of photographs of the porch in the 1850's with what can be seen today [fig.14 and 39]. These demonstrates the deference between the old worn sandstone and the sharply moulded work replaced by Bryce's sculptors. It is interesting to note that, after the removal of the eighteenth century roof to the Chapel in the 1840s, followed by the insertion of mullions and tracery in the east end window looking into the nave, the glazing was not completed until Bryce intervention, or if it was, it was not waterproof.⁸³ A confirmation is given by 'Hair Pencil' in his 'winter-report', where we understand

⁸⁰ *The Scotsman*, 9 May 1861, p.3, II.

⁸¹ In another letter to the editor of *The Scotsman* (30 May 1861) an anonymous author seems to be very pleased with the new shape of the Pillar. He writes: 'May I hope to be pardoned if I dare to say that I think the Prentice Pillar itself actually improved by the cleaning it has undergone? It is to be seen now for the first time for centuries in the colour and proportions and in the sharpness of outline, in which its architect and carver intended it to be seen. And it looks no longer squat and clumsy, as it did in its dingy coat of white, but shows us a fair, well-fashioned column, rich to excess in its ornateness perhaps, yet chaste in proportion and effect'.

⁸² *The Scotsman*, 28 May 1861, p.2, IV.

⁸³ In response to the problem of damp Bryce informed Lord Rosslyn that: 'I desired him [the workman] to give the Roof another coat of oil with little Whitelead, as there was one or two drops, but I am told the Chapel is now all but dry' [National Archives of Scotland, document GD 164/1014/6]. Enquires to Stained Glass manufactures were made and replies to the Earl survive from John Hardman & Co. and Stained Glass Works in London, see National Archives of Scotland, documents: GD 164/1014/15, GD 164/1014/13. The stained glass windows above the altar are from a later stage of replacements. The following inscription which is not clearly visible dates 1896: 'To the Glory of God: in most affectionate remembrance of his only sister Harriet Elisabeth Sinclair, daughter of James Alexander, third Earl of

that the rain water kept filtering through the building for more than twenty years. The fact that the Chapel was exposed to the effects of the external atmosphere is confirmed by the early photographs taken by David Octavius Hill [cat.106.3, 106.9]. In his calotypes dated to the mid 1840s, the higher level windows are unglazed. The glazing, in fact, appears to be *in situ* only five years later in Thomas Keith's sun-pictures [cat.108.2] and in Roger Fenton's extraordinary albumen prints [fig.41, cat.110, 111].

According to one correspondent in *The Scotsman* in June 1861, the idea that the Chapel had been standing for years without either door or windows, and going to ruin in consequence of the exposure to damp and other effects of the weather, was not at all true. This writer explained how it had for many years had both, with the exception of the clerestory windows, which for a long time had no glazing, but even these were protected from the effects of the weather by the sloping roof then covering the north aisle, which rose considerably above the daylight of the windows, and so covered them that visitors often mistook them for the arcade of a gallery [cat.17]. Indeed an old custodian, called John Oughton, took especial care to insist upon this use in his narrative on the building, with the further addition, that it was the gallery for the singing boys and girls. He also focused the attention of Victorian readers on a proper matter like the ventilation of the Chapel with the following text:

The present doors and windows have been in their place for nearly twenty years, at which time both exterior and interior underwent a thorough repair in all that was necessary for its preservation and stability, under the judicious guidance of Mr Burn, architect, who had the extraneous roof over the north aisle removed and new windows fixed in the north clerestory and other parts of the building, but unfortunately these were made fixtures, which has proved a complete hindrance to airing the Chapel; and hence a great deal of

Rosslyn, and wife of George Herbert, Count Munster of Derneburgh in Hannover, this window was entirely restored and filled with stained glass, November 1896 by Francis Robert, fourth Earl of Rosslyn'.

that dampness existing at present arises from the stagnation of the air within, and not from external causes, as has been supposed, and could be very easily obviated by having a portion of the windows made to open; when the free circulation of air would very soon clean the walls of all extraneous matter without the aid of either scrubbing-brush or chisel, now so ruthlessly applied.⁸⁴

Inevitably the flood of letters to *The Scotsman* increased the number of visitors who wanted to see all that was left of the beauties of the Chapel before they were 'scraped into nothingness', as most of the correspondents said. One of them, however another unnamed writer who was keen on Antique references, 'went out to mourn, like another Caius Marius, amid the ruins,'⁸⁵ but returned 'a convertite' and convinced that what was there done was necessary work performed by faithful and loving hands.⁸⁶ This writer has left a very interesting description of the restoration team:

From the suddenness and loudness of the outcry as to destruction, I expected to see in the Chapel a score or two workmen scrubbing, chiselling, pumice-stoning, &c.; but I found only a slow and gentle work of restoration, which has been going on quietly, and more or less continuously, for a number of years, in the same quiet and careful style. Two workmen only are employed.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ *The Scotsman*, 22 June 1861, p.6, III.

⁸⁵ *The Scotsman*, 30 May 1861, p.2, VI.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* According to him: 'They are clearing off from the beautiful carved work with which the whole interior is enriched, bit by bit, and with the utmost reverence and care, all the mosses, lichens, lycopodiums, ferns, and other vegetable matter, which, from the Chapel being exposed to the effects of the external atmosphere through unglazed windows and open doors, have gathered over it'.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Ignoramus, the pseudonym of the author of this letter, continued his defence in this way: 'The anti-restorers are somewhat vague in their loud yet sentimental outcry, and one requires to ask how far their objections carry them. If they say - 'Do not lay a hand, or a chisel, or a brush, even though dipt [sic] in pure water only, on a single stone; leave it to time and sure decay; leave us to enjoy it as we have enjoyed it, and let future generations take their chance of something being left; we can only regard them as unreasoning, if not selfish, in their love of the venerable building. But if they admit restoration at all, even as a necessary evil, how could they have it carried on more prudently and cautiously than it is being carried on at Roslin? I for one cannot see that the clearing away of the lime and whitewash with which the tracery was thickly clotted, is anything but the reverse of a desecration. Nor do I recognise the sacredness

Their names were Laurence Baxter and J. Lawrence Tweddle,⁸⁸ both captured by an anonymous photographer during the restoration work in the Lady Chapel [fig.82, cat.114]. According to the 'convertite' correspondent, they washed with care the lime and whitewash that deeply encrusted many parts of the structure. At the same time every bit of original carving was minutely examined; and where it was in tolerable preservation it was left untouched; where the stone was rotten, a mould was carefully taken of it in stucco; and a fresh stone, selected from the original quarry, of precisely the same shade was carved to the model and substituted. The decayed stone was then cut out and the new one slipped into its place.

In June 1861 a long article entitled 'The Restorations at Roslin' appeared in *The Scotsman* and a few days later was republished in *The Times*. It contained a good deal of correspondence between the Secretary of The Architectural Institute of Scotland and the Earl of Rosslyn. Members of the Institute had asked the secretary to write to Lord Rosslyn to protest against the work of restoration. One of the series of the resolutions announced in the secretary's letter was to the effect that 'nothing in the shape of restoration, except what is expressly called for to prevent the building falling into decay, can be acceptable to those interested its preservation',⁸⁹ and another states:

of the ferns and lycopodiums over whose fall your correspondents mourn. The Chapel was not intended to be a huge fernery, a pretty toy for ladies young or old, and if the rain and the damp of the external atmosphere were properly excluded, these plants would of course disappear. The lycopodiums, I believe, are harmless, except as they give a foreign colour to the walls; the ferns are positively mischievous, their roots widening the interstices into which they dig, and gradually affecting the stability of the building. Perhaps the horror of the stove expressed by 'Randolph' is on account of those delicate plants, which would persist stove-dried'.

⁸⁸ I am extremely grateful to Jane Thomas of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland for this information. The notice that Laurence Baxter was Bryce's carver for the restoration works at Rosslyn appears in Colin McWilliam, *Lothian, except Edinburgh* (Buildings of Scotland), Harmondsworth 1980, p.416.

⁸⁹ *The Scotsman* 18 June, p.2, VII. The article was republished in *The Times*, 20 June 1861, p.12.

That they consider the cutting away of the brackets under the niches in the piers of the east wall, with those in the jambs of the windows adjoining, and the substituting copies in their place; the re-carving of the string course under the windows, with portions of the caving on the Prentice Pillar, the renewing of ... the east wall, and the rebuilding and finishing of the altars as new executed, with the scraping and cleaning of the east range of pillars, as not only unnecessary but highly mischievous in principle, tending to throw doubts on the authenticity of the whole of that portion of the Chapel and thereby entirely destroying its value architecturally and pictorially.⁹⁰

As a consequence of these views of the Institute suggested that Lord Rosslyn should desist from carrying on with any further restoration. Lord Rosslyn's reply given below was, in effect a refusal to comply with the request of the Institute. He wrote:

I regret to find that the Fellows of the Architectural Institute have adopted views entirely at variance with those which I entertain on this subject, and on which I have acted. I must premise that I have neither made nor intended to make any alterations on the original 'structure', and that no sculptured stone has been or will be removed, except to be replaced with an exact *fac simile* from what I believe to have been the original quarry. I cannot admit that an anxiety to preserve pictorial effect is a valid reason against the restoration of architectural ornament to its original purity and design, nor against the removal of dirt and incrustations which conceal the sculpture or obliterate the beauty of the original workmanship. It has cost no little anxious labour, and no slight artistic skill to trace out and restore in their perfect entirety the original forms of many of the architectural ornaments, of which the Fellows of the Architectural Institute consider the restoration to have been 'unnecessary and mischievous'. Had these restorations not been made, the lapse of a few years would have made their decay so complete that it would have been impossible to trace out the original design, and a knowledge of the details of

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

the ornamentation of the Chapel could only have been acquired by posterity by a reference to drawings of doubtful accuracy, or to the meagre accounts of it which have from time to time been published. I apprehend that the question at issue between myself and the Fellows of the Architectural Institute is - Shall Roslin Chapel be a ruin, or shall it be preserved as a sacred edifice from the natural decay of ages?⁹¹

Lord Rosslyn knew that criticism had to be stopped and in order to take the wind out of the sails of his opponents, he concluded his letter robustly: 'I consider myself as a trustee for my family ad posterity, and as such I should not be justified in allowing this chapel, with all its beautiful architectural and decorative ornaments, to become a ruin either internally or externally.'⁹²

With this powerful statement Lord Rosslyn revealed himself as a strong supporter of careful restoration. His opposition to the views of the Fellows of the Architectural Institute of Scotland, was clear, and his views on the methodology of *fac-simile* replacement was to provoke long and heated debate.

As we can imagine the first reader to react against 'the old made young' was Randolph: 'If Lord Rosslyn was the happy master of the Venus of Melos which glorifies that long gallery in the Louvre, would he set about restoring her arms? and where would he get their *fac similes* in our days?'⁹³ A supportive and very intelligent reply to his questions appeared few days later:

No one was ever so foolhardy as to suggest that the fine example of antique sculpture we have in the Venus of Melos should be provided with arms, and have the hair and drapery rechiselled by some second-rate sculptor, so that the statue might be complete, and the

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *The Scotsman* 21 June 1861, p.2, VI.

weather staining of the marble removed. Any one doing so would be held up to derision; neither would any one possessing a valuable specimen of a Titian or a Rubens ever think of placing it in the hands of a restorer with directions to clean away not only its leathery coatings of varnish, but all those mystic glazings of the artist which constituted the charm and beauty of the work, that they might see the colours in all their rawness and crudity. So do we now ask that Roslin Chapel should not be interfered with further than is absolutely unavoidable. Give us what is left of it entire and genuine.⁹⁴

A reply to Lord Rosslyn from someone calling himself 'An Old Chip' was published 22 June 1861. This correspondent claimed to be well informed with regard to the work on the Chapel and to be in a position to refute 'his Lordship' point by point:

. . . with all the care that was taken then to not injure the original character of the building, there was work done to a certain extent unnecessary . . . All arguments, therefore, in defence of the 'restorations' now going on, based on the assumption that the place was going to ruin in consequence of exposure to damp, fall to the ground, and are valueless, as, with the exception of the broken portion of the shafts of two of the east pillars, there was nothing in the Chapel that could truly be said to require repair on the score of stability; and we can safely say that, in regard to decay, we do not know one whit of difference on any portion of the building for thirty years past.⁹⁵

What this writer strongly believed was that most of the decay took place in the first century of the existence of the Chapel, and that the coating of moss formed upon the stone was a complete protection from atmospheric effects. In his opinion - not a

⁹⁴ *The Scotsman* 22 June 1861, p.6, III-IV.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

particularly scientific one - it was only where it did not retain that coating that it was possible to find the disintegrating stone.

For although the stone is very soft when taken from the quarry, it becomes, as all other freestone does more or less, harder and more indurated by exposure to weather, to which nature adds by imperceptible degrees such a dense coating of moss, as ultimately forms a complete protection from the effects of the atmosphere, altogether different from anything having a tendency to waste the surface; and it is only where it does not retain that coating that you find the stone disintegrating and giving way, in which cases the stone appears in all its original raw and crude colour, in strong contrast with that around it.⁹⁶

As to the propriety of the alterations in a preservative view, he quotes a letter from a gentleman - whose name is not given - who has had a long experience of the nature of the stone and according to whom 'when the stone is of a deep purple it is apt to crumble into powder. As time and the exposure to the air causes the change in its appearance, the cause of the crumbling away also seems to be eradicated, and the stone becomes harder, or rather I should say, though the term may sound peculiar, *together*. Any re-exposure, therefore, of a new surface may be attended with some little risk, and I therefore should say *let well alone*. Nothing can be more beautiful than Roslin Chapel as it is.'⁹⁷

Lord Rosslyn, in his reply to the Fellows of the Institute, disclaimed any intention to alter the original structure, but at the same time he virtually acknowledges what he has before denied when he farther states and emphasised that no sculptured stone had or would be removed except to be replaced by a *fac simile*. He probably meant not the

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* On the same subject see J. Cumming, 'Sandstone as a Building Material', *The Architect*, vol.XL, 3 August, 1888, p.63.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

recreation of a lifeless copy, but the creation of a living work of art, based on a deep understanding and respect for the style and techniques of the medieval builders. He said however: 'I am doing what I conceive to be best calculated to preserve for posterity the full enjoyment of the contemplation of this unrivalled specimen of the architecture of the age to which it belongs ... It is only by acting in the same way that we shall ever have an art of our own.'⁹⁸ By this he implied that any legitimate additions must be carried out in the spirit of the medieval craftsman.

'Old Chip', however, did not give up entirely; and instead returned to the question as to how far such work was actually required for the preservation of the structure?

We are aware from an intimate knowledge of that particular part of the Chapel that most of the brackets and canopies that have been cut away were much broken, but not wasted; those brackets on the pillars between the windows in particular were as sharp and well defined in what remained of them as the day they were put up. Neither was there any difficulty in forming a conception of those parts that were wanting, sufficient being left to indicate what the original had been; the stone they were cut in was also of a fine quality, as is proved by all of the same colour throughout the chapel; it is the white, slightly tinged with red, and much superior in texture and enduring qualities to either the yellow or red, which are the colours that show most tendency to decay. It is said perfect *fac similes* of these have been substituted in place of the original, and we have no doubt such was the intention of his Lordship; but, as we also know practically, that while an experienced mason can give a *fac simile* of a moulding, and even to a certain extent of a piece of sculptured foliage, that it is preposterous to talk of him making a *fac simile* of the 'figure' by the eye alone, even although aided by plaster casts. If such was the case, what need would the sculptor have for all those costly and delicate appliances he uses to secure a faithful reproduction of his model? and [sic] are we to understand that the workman

⁹⁸ *The Times* 20 June 1861, p.12.

engaged in these 'restorations' was of such superior abilities that he could dispense with them? If so, his work would give evidence of it. Unfortunately we have not the originals to compare it with, but if any one will place himself in the centre of the chancel, and compare the new work with the angels and other figures over the caps of the pillars, he will find that while all of the latter have a distinct character and expression, those restored are entirely devoid of either - in fact, they are the merest inanities; and the stone they are cut in being of the yellow-coloured variety, is so soft and friable in its nature that any one conversant in these matters would with one glance feel satisfied of its unsuitability for the purpose, and that it was ill [sic] calculated for endurance.⁹⁹

According to 'Old Chip', the Architectural Institute of Scotland did not insist on the preservation of the pictorial effect of the Chapel and gave Lord Rosslyn full credit for the restoration he had made; but they remonstrated when restorations took the form of cleaning away the time-staining accumulated in the course of centuries over moulded and carved work, and which neither concealed the character of the design nor obliterated the beauty of the workmanship, but enhanced the value of both by its softening influence. They certainly were opposed to the use of acids, the action of which tended to disintegrate the particles of the stone and hasten its decay; and they disapproved of the re-chiselling which had diminished the size of the parts and destroyed the original proportions. In the end it was not only the loss of pictorial effect that they deplored, but the mischievous and dangerous principle involved which, if acted upon repeatedly, and continued through several generations, would ultimately leave nothing to clean, since the mouldings and enrichments would have totally disappeared, destroying the identity of a building.

⁹⁹ *The Scotsman* 22 June 1861, p.6, III-IV.

Then again, it is quite clear that the questions at issue between his Lordship and the Institute, was not whether Roslin Chapel should be preserved against natural decay or remain a ruin, as they gave their unqualified approval to the necessary repairs. But what they objected to, and what every one objects to that has one spark taste about him, is in the futile attempt to make Roslin Chapel look a new fabric, as has been doing of late; neither they nor we wish to see 'old friends with new faces' - it is not pleasant in any case, far less so in this; and when to aid in the attempt, they execute about one third of the cusped points on the arches with cement in place of stone (a fact by-the-by which his lordship keeps very carefully out of sight), it is simply ridiculous, and had his Lordship taken the trouble to have inquired into the matter he would have found there were many ways open to him for preserving the wasted stones without cutting them away.¹⁰⁰

'Old Chip' suggested a close analysis to the restoration work done by Sir George Gilbert Scott for Westminster Abbey,¹⁰¹ where – according to his interpretation of Scott's renovations – instead of touching the stones with a chisel and mallet, they used a simple pair of bellows to remove the dirt, and did not even apply the preserving wash of silicate with a brush for fear of disturbing the particles of the stone, but had it applied with a syringe, and that the stone which formerly crumbled with the slightest touch became so hard it could not be abraded with a hard tool afterwards. In his words: 'a very different system surely from that pursued at Roslin, where the stone was scraped to the raw the one day, and then washed over with a dirty stain, procured by scraping off the green moss and diluting it in the water, the next.'¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-78), as the most successful Victorian architect, was one of the principal protagonist of restoration debate in England. He was appointed surveyor to the Fabric of Westminster Abbey in 1849. Scott's approach to restoration was based on the original designing of the building not for the original material nor for the form achieved through history. In practice he often broke his own conservation principles published as *A Plea for the Faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches* (1851).

¹⁰² *The Scotsman*, 22 June 1861, p.6.

As already stated, 'Old Chip's' views on restoration are clear, which is more than can be said of his prose. His long and detailed reply to Lord Rosslyn concludes the 'antique replicas' controversy. Here the last outcry *in extenso*:

As his Lordship acknowledges himself acting as a trustee for his family and posterity, it might be worth his while, and perhaps repay his trouble, if he would take a careful look at what he has been expending his money upon, and without prejudice compare that portion with any similar portion of what remains untouched, which he may easily do by one glance from the chancel westwards. I will venture to say that if he does so in a fair and candid spirit he will be compelled to acknowledge that he has, with the single exception of where the repairs were actually necessary, been throwing his money to the dogs, and that much that is done would have been better left undone, and it may possibly occur to him that posterity will only associate his name with the destruction of much that was beautiful, and their enjoyment of what is left be marred [sic] by the knowledge that the ornamental portions of the Chapel have been so much tampered with; while the Fellows of the Architectural Institute will have the consolation to know that they have done their duty in trying to arrest this wholesale desecration.¹⁰³

These arguments were no different from what David Roberts had said eighteen years previously in a way that was, however, less overstated and extreme. These words of 'Old Chip', 'Randolph', 'Hair Pencil' and many others, touch the core of all the subsequent objections to Burn and Bryce's restoration method: the old cannot be replaced by a copy, for with the destruction of a building a life is lost and the ousted spirit does not return to the copy – 'Man and womankind divides as usual on the motion, into ayes and noes. Those agreeing . . . that a primrose is more than yellow, that there is a sacredness in age, a beauty in natural decay, say to this motion, *No*. Those

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

who agree with Lord Rosslyn . . . and think that the lost can be 'restored' and the old made young, and that a cast and a copy is as good as the first thoughts and first handiwork of genius, and that iron poured into a mould has not less meaning and virtue than when wrought by the cunning and the heart of a Hal o' the Wynd, &c. &c., say, boldly and authoritatively, Aye.'¹⁰⁴

Today at a distance of more than one hundred and forty years the issues which are brought to prominence in this controversy still lie at the heart of conservation procedures. An architectural historian has to choose between that Chapel that is dry and structurally sound yet bearing all too clearly the evidence of later interventions, and one which is decayed and crumbling in its decorative elements. Modern practice would not approve of the use of muriatic acid to clear organic growth since the acid itself attacks, in time, the cellular structure of the stones. By the same token too much Victorian re-carving deadened the surface and diminished the authenticity of much sculptural relief, yet Rosslyn as it has come down to us today remains a speaking monument of the age that gave it birth and without the confidence and self assurance of Burn and Bryce it may be questioned whether this would otherwise have been the case.

¹⁰⁴ *The Scotsman*, 21 June 1861, p.2, VI.

Chapter Five

Conclusions

The desire to break records at Rosslyn is supreme and nowhere so uncontrolled.

Ian C. Hannay, *Story of Scotland in Stone*, 1934.

5.1. The visual interpretation.

The history of the restoration controversies at Rosslyn provides a good example of the changes in nineteenth century attitudes towards historic buildings. The structure of the Chapel assumed both its external appearance and internal configuration as the result of intense efforts by intelligent patrons and architects. As a result the structure still can exercise its charm expressing in a memorable way the pliability of later Gothic forms. The Chapel, as it stands, proudly proclaims its status as a unique and extraordinary building, above all in the Lady Chapel where the sculptural adornment parades heraldic shields, huge projecting corbels formed by great pendants sloping outwards from the east wall, and suspended pendants which adorn the keystones of the quadripartite bays. The effort and expense devoted to such iconographical display is without parallel in any other contemporary Scottish building.

It would be easy simply to ascribe the Chapel's fame and popularity to its richness and visual impact. It cannot be denied that the prodigal elaboration of the carvings is a very important factor and there are many paintings, photographs and articles to support

this. However, there are other reasons for the Chapel's widespread appeal and consequential position as a Scottish cultural icon.

Rosslyn Chapel attracts general and popular attention as a late medieval religious edifice. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it became a standard entry in the antiquarian and archaeological accounts of Scotland and of Britain. So famous that Billings in his description of the Chapel remarked: 'to describe minutely so well known a building would be superfluous'.¹ The Chapel's late medieval origins also awoke many other imaginations, especially given the family's links to the Knights Templar and Christian mystics in their search for true knowledge and enlightenment. The evocations of a noble, medieval Scotland appealed to the Romantic notions of nineteenth century writers: it was an unfinished masterpiece by a Knight of the Realm. Along with the actual history of the estate, the myths linked to Rosslyn Chapel are equally captivating to any imaginative visitor: the macabre murder of the apprentice who proved to be more skilled than the master mason and the legend, re-evoked by Scott, that before the death of any member of the St Clair family the Chapel seemed to be on fire. Its appeal is obviously far-reaching, is such that this small exquisite building has become rooted in the cultural psyche of Scotland.

From the beginning of the twentieth century the artists who depicted the Chapel started to experiment far more imaginatively with architectural ideas. Detailed plans and elevations of how this 'pocket cathedral' might have been, if ever completed, were prepared by the Scottish architect and architectural historian Thomas Ross (1839-1930). He made a most charming perspective sketch of the finished nave and crossing with a fine centre tower and spire [fig.87]. In perfect keeping with the existing parts of the building, his Rosslyn Chapel in its supposed finished state becomes one of the major

¹ Robert William Billings, 'Rosslyn Chapel Description', *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, vol.IV, Edinburgh, 1845-52, p.3.

themes discussed in a paper read at Rosslyn in 1914.² In his paper Ross loses nothing in comparison with Sir Walter Scott when he uses words like 'poem of stone', when he describes the vault of the chapel as 'powdered with stars' in a new *Paradise Lost*, or over all when he concentrates himself on 'a fantastic fairy dream as no mortal ever dared to dream before'.³

The 'pocket proportions' of Rosslyn Chapel, its setting and its phantasmagorical light effects, as well as the eerie tales associated with it have captured the imagination of poets, writers, amateurs and authoritative critics in the world of art and architecture. The analysis of the visual evidence amplifies our knowledge not only of the Chapel but also of the cultural tastes existing at different times and at different moments in English and Scottish society. Certainly the Chapel as seen and depicted by Captain John Slezer towards the end of the seventeenth century has a very different meaning from the building recorded by Joseph Michael Gandy in 1806 or the stereoscopic views of Thomas Vernon Begbie. Rich in artistic fantasy and legend, Rosslyn Chapel was the perfect subject for exposure as a Diorama. In such a critical analysis Rosslyn Chapel becomes a changing cultural icon for succeeding generations of architects, architectural critics and amateurs and a touchstone for essential value-judgements, made both in European and in national, Scottish terms.

It is also important to remember that certain images of Rosslyn have come to serve as more than architectural records. They have assumed iconic status, standing for something more significant than the traces of an individual interpretation. Suffice it to say that the fame of Rosslyn became crucial in the world of early photography, when

² See Thomas Ross, 'Rosslyn Chapel, a paper read at Rosslyn', *Transactions of Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, vol.IV, part III, no.12, 1914-1915, pp.238-247. Ross in his text quotes another architect who made the same kind of suppositions of how the crossing was intended to be finished: Thomas Kemp (1833-1853), son of the well known architect of the Scott Monument. The only surviving record of Kemp's *Collegiate Church of St. Matthew's at Rosslyn in its (supposed) finished state* appears in John Thompson, *The Illustrated Guide to Rosslyn Chapel and Castle*, Edinburgh 1934, p.2.

³ *Ibid.*, p.240.

the architectural nature of the building began to function as a type of merchandise. Like an 'industrial icon' images of the Chapel were often mass-produced and sold everywhere. There was an urge to create an accurate image which almost by accident has achieved today a quite different value as a unique historical document. Good examples are George Washington Wilson's photographs in which the ceiling of the Lady Chapel is unveiled before the eyes, launching the viewer towards architectural settings far beyond ordinary horizons [fig.83]. The camera gave life to images that were totally transformed in their dimensions, their perspective, and above all in their luminosity. A new representation determined by a particular condition of perception can be seen in Roger Fenton's schematic view of the south porch [cat.110]. Here the gaze of the photographer, enhancing the powers of both vision and invention, was to become more penetrating and offered the mind of the 'artist' an opportunity to create a new universe. Few images in the history of photography have achieved this status.

David Roberts merits a special place in the history of representations of Rosslyn Chapel and its creation as a national Icon. The artist provided many dramatic, highly evocative views that convey the sense of his intimate knowledge of the Chapel, unadorned by meaningless or banal elements. In his works foregrounds are prominent, light effects permit a deep exploration of space, and perspectives become complex, revealing unknown aspects of the building. Rosslyn is depicted by Roberts from more than one side and both in internal and external views [fig.60-64]. Such perspectives, in which the architectural features are often devastated by time and events, are animated by figures who stand in contemplation of the structure, communicating its beauty and its fascination, conscious of their role as witnesses to a great historical patrimony. With this artistic premise in his mind, Roberts stands as forerunner of the anti-restoration movement criticising the restoration architects for the destruction of the historical authenticity of the Chapel. He is the principal protagonist in the restoration controversy

and his piercing eye and biting pen detect and denounce the futility of any attempt to restore such a unique creation. In this manner, Roberts brought Rosslyn with its context, atmospheres, and history, to the forefront of Scottish national consciousness not only for people interested in the qualities and values of great architecture, but also for the general public.

The evolution of the iconography of Rosslyn Chapel, as for any other building that has been prized for so long a time, serves to show not only how the notions of artistic representation have been transformed over more than a century, but also how the understanding of architecture itself has undergone, in successive periods, fundamental change. The image of a place belongs to a culture and it impresses itself on the artistic memory of people. It is possible from these source to acquire fully reliable and authentic testimony about it. Yet culture, as we know, creates and preserves several versions of the architectural image of the building at the same time, and these are not always compatible one with the other. It is in their interaction that the authentic experience manifests itself. This work on Rosslyn it is not a dead sum of mechanically accumulated facts; it is a living unity. Every image influences all the preceding ones, changes their tone and value, opening new aspects in them, and finding, I trust, new echoes.

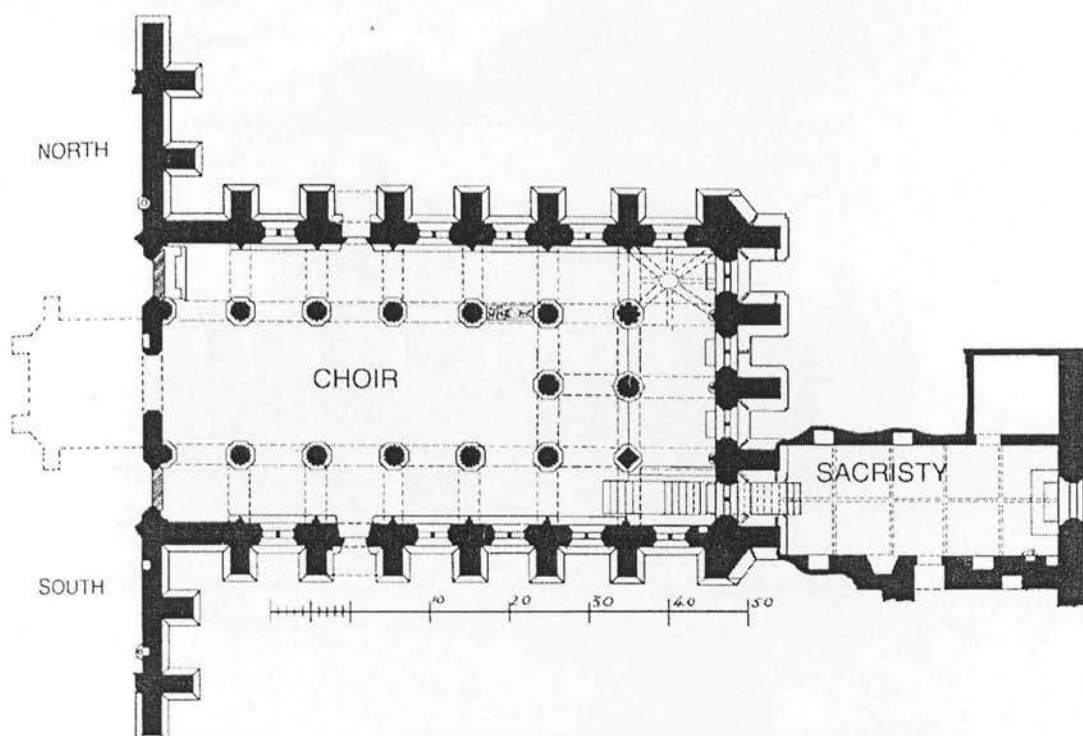
What then of the icon itself – the three dimensional reality of solid mass and ornate columns that stands even today in the heart of Midlothian? Every image however brilliant and evocative is no more than a two-dimensional record of a building whose actual reality and impact far exceeds any picture or photograph that can be made of it. In 1870 the authorities of South Kensington Museum took steps to secure a replica of part of the interior of the Chapel for inclusion in the North European Cast Court. Lord Rosslyn was approached and gave permission for workmen from the well-known firm

of Giovanni Franchi to visit the Chapel in spring 1871.⁴ In two weeks of work (stopping on Saturday and Sunday) they had taken sufficient casts for the Apprentice Pillar together with the arches which butt up against the two windows and the vaults in the south-east corner of the Lady Chapel to be reassembled full size in London [fig.88]. This transposition of a portion of the building to the British metropolis must represent the true apotheosis of Rosslyn as an Icon of national identity. It stands as testament to the labours of those artists, architects and historians who sought earnestly and enthusiastically to illustrate its quality and charm.

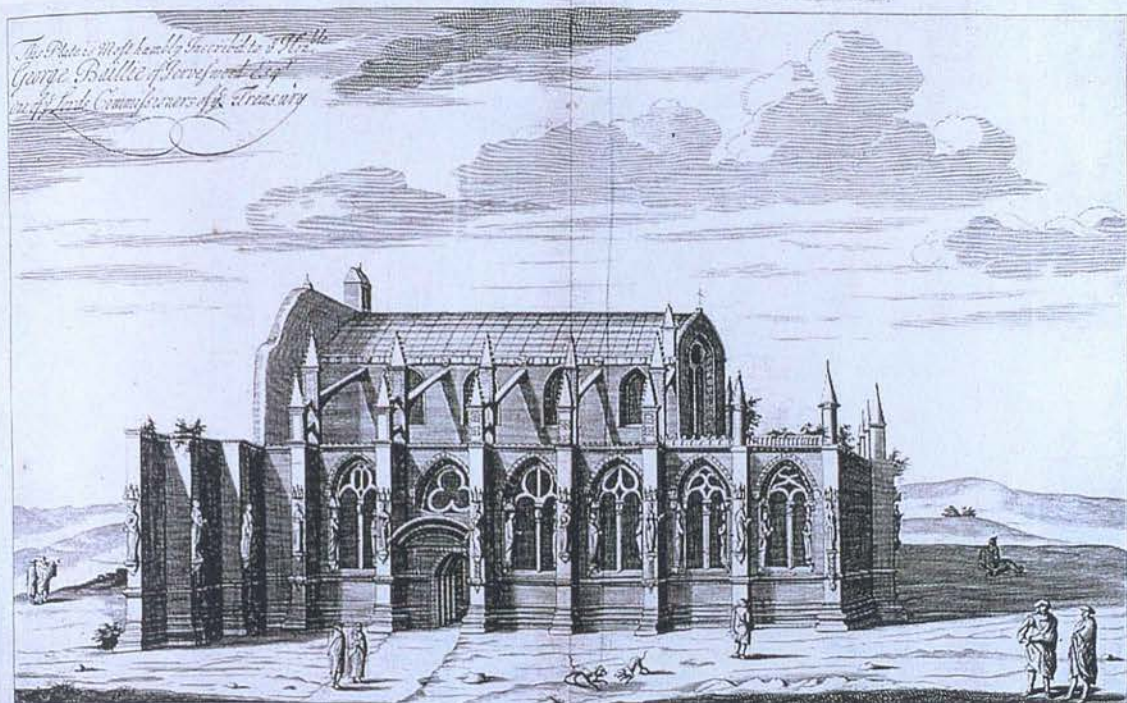
⁴ The Rosslyn cast retains much of the original detail subsequently obscured by the cement was applied in the nineteenth-century. Unfortunately, there is a limited information concerning details of acquisition other than it was purchased from the well-known reproduction business of Giovanni Franchi in 1871, for £75,5s. The cast (inv.no. 1871-59) is displayed in gallery 46A of the V&A.

Illustrations

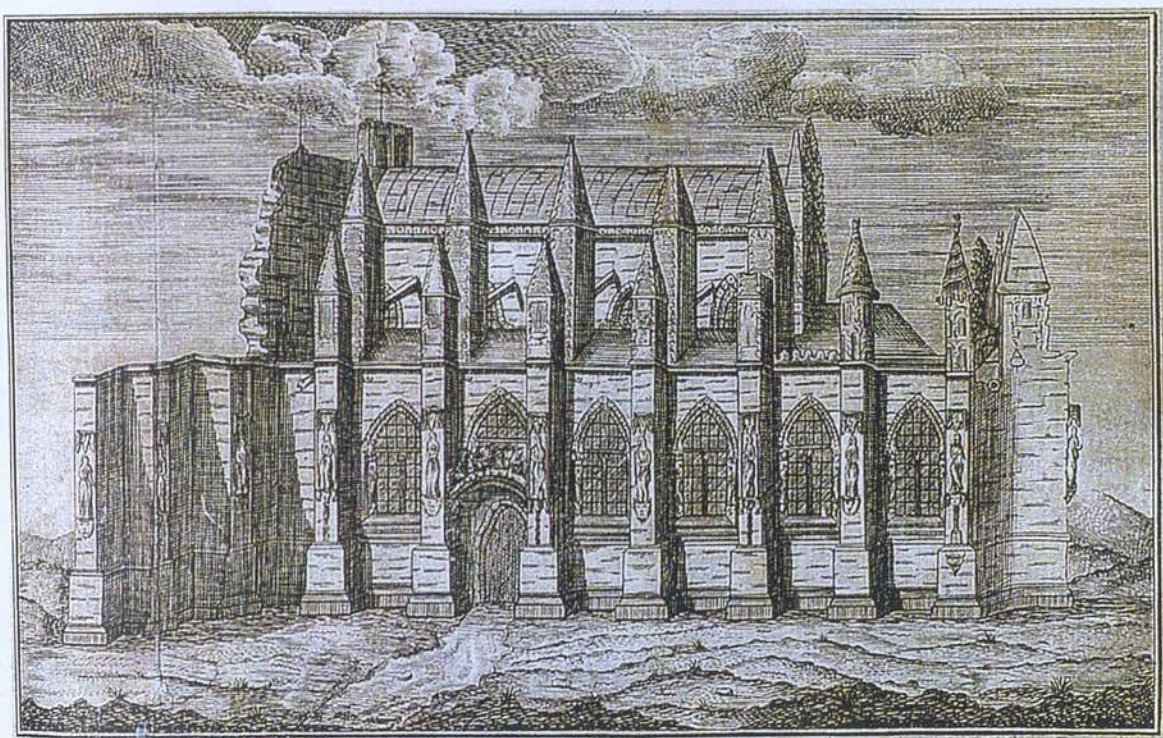




1. Plan of Rosslyn Chapel, from Rosslyn Chapel Conservation Plan by Simpson & Brown Architects.

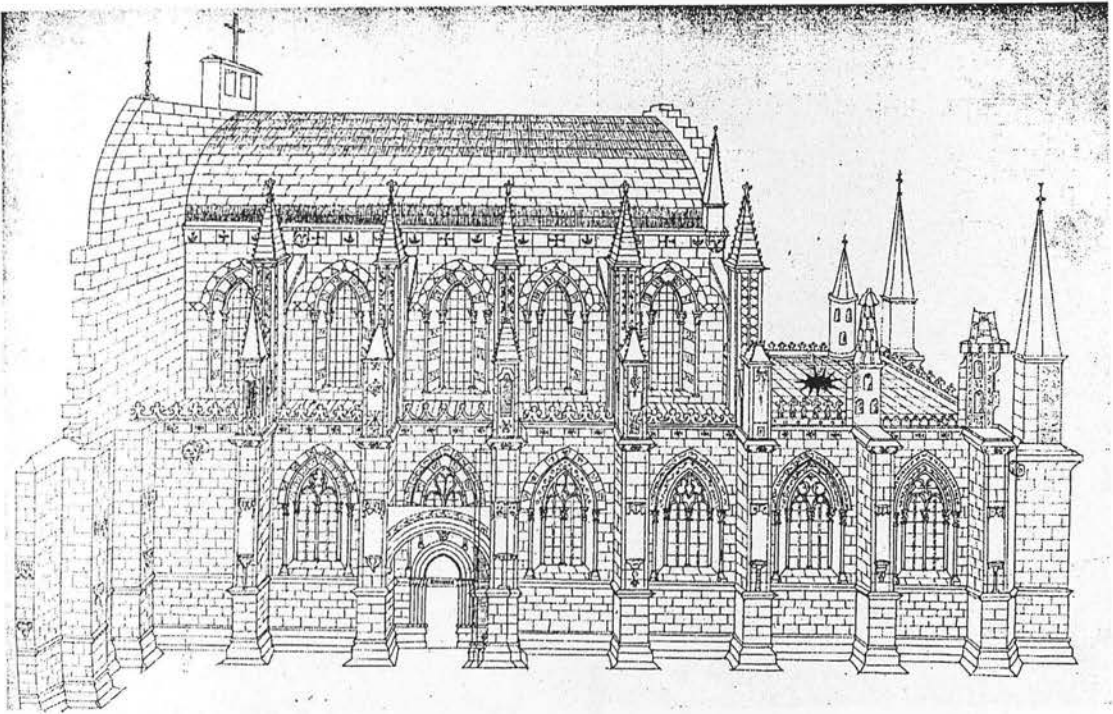
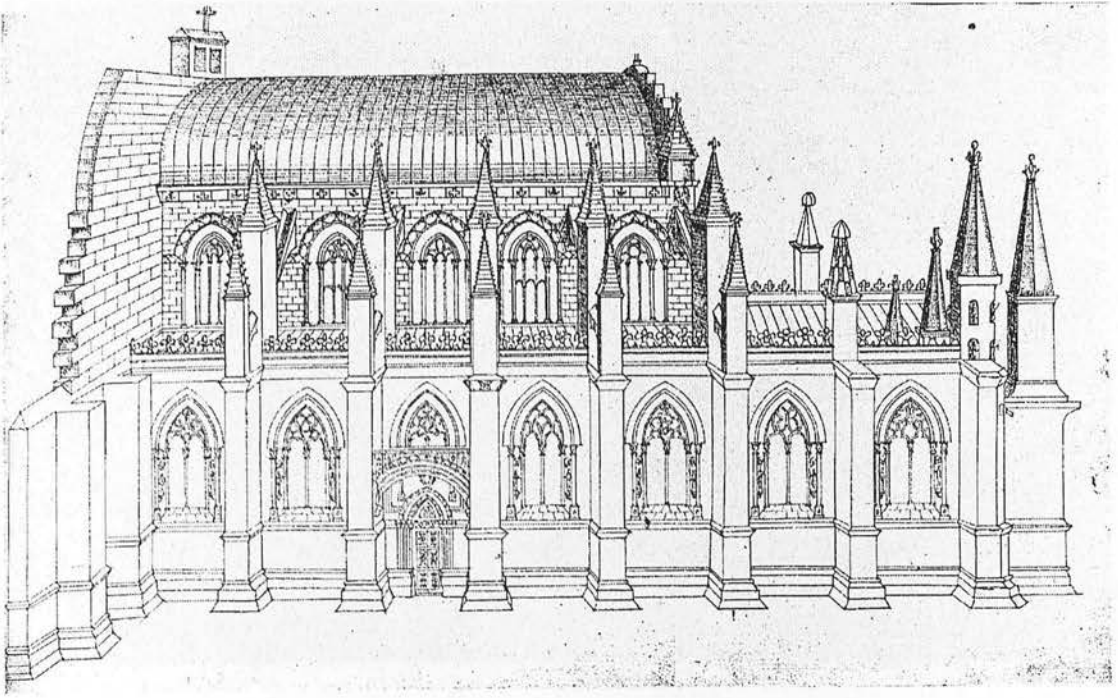


Capella de ROSSLIN. The Chappell of ROSSLIN. 57.



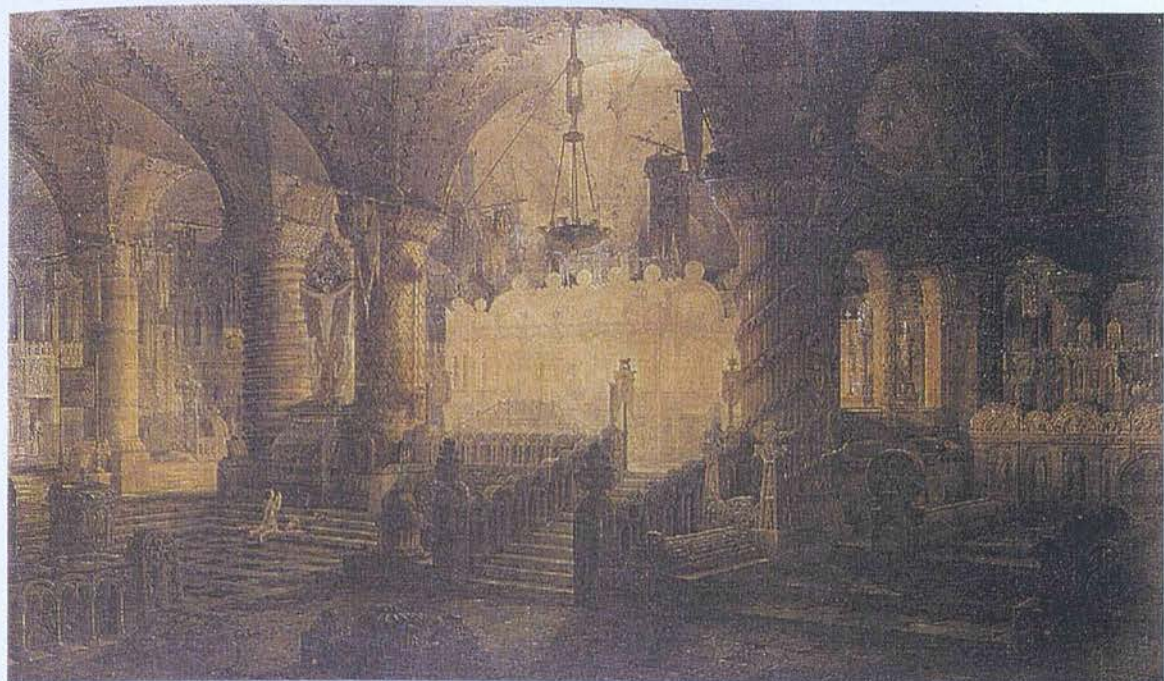
2a. John Slezer, *Capella de Rosslyn – The Chappel of Rosslyn*. Engraving from *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1693 [cat.61].

2b. James Johnston, *South side view of the Chapel*. Engraving from *The Gentleman's and Lady's Magazine*, 1780 [cat.64].

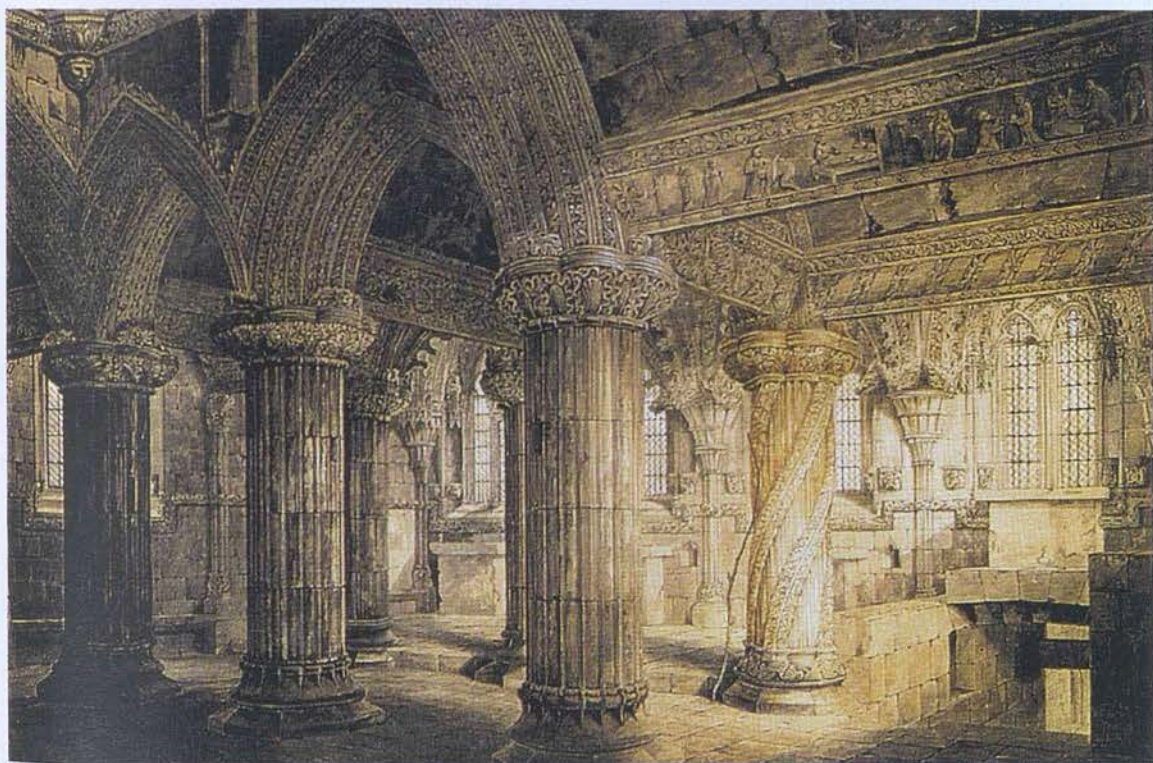
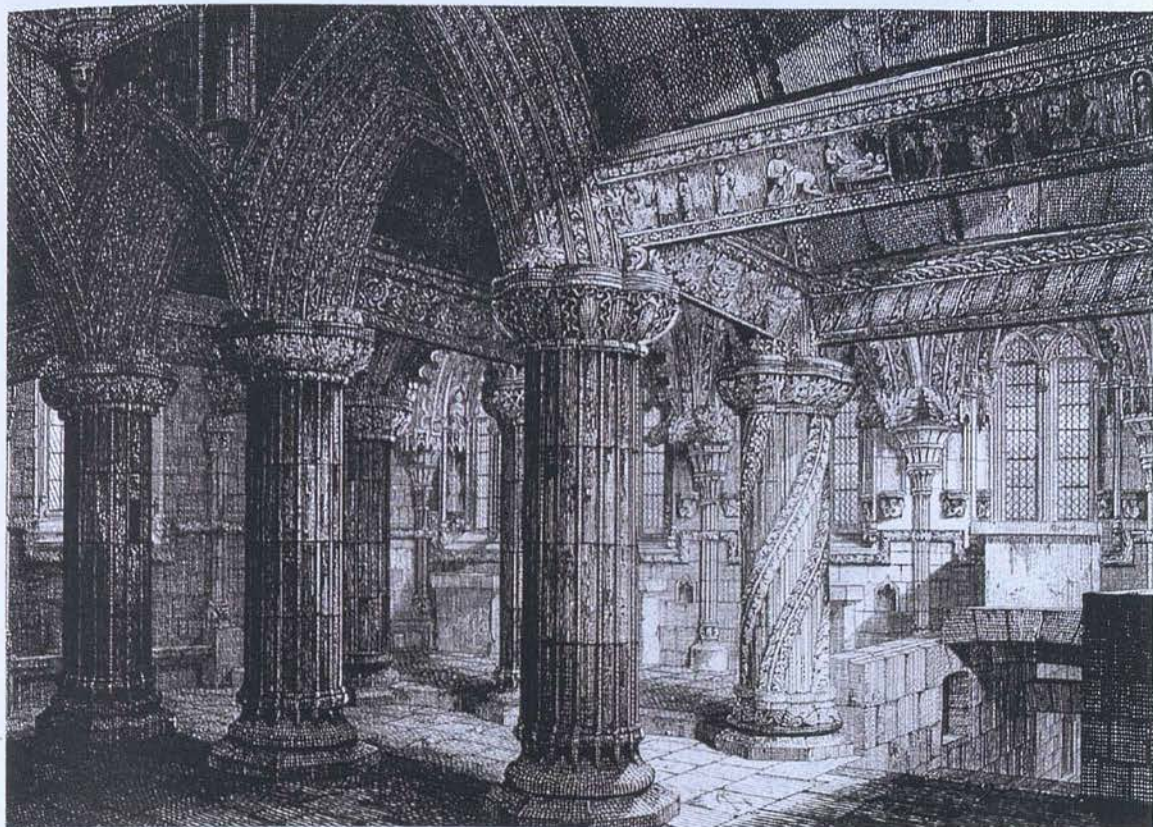


Anonymous,

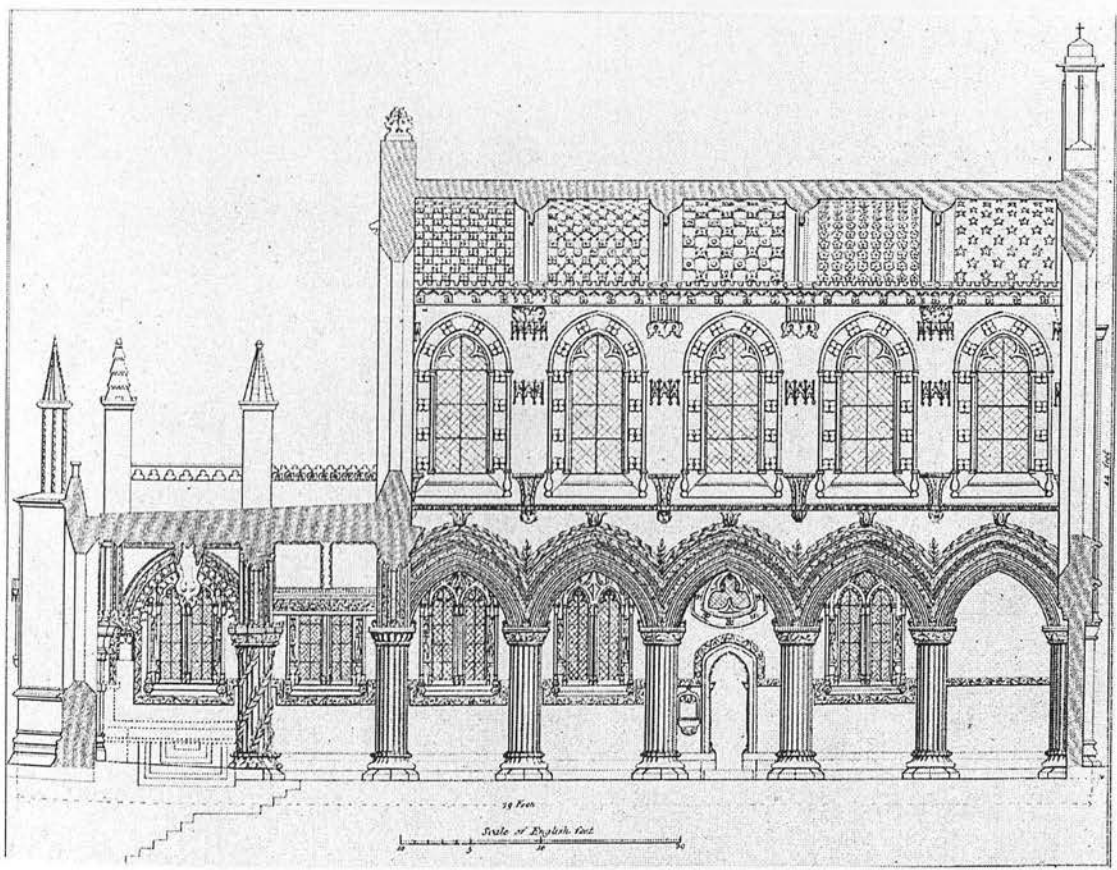
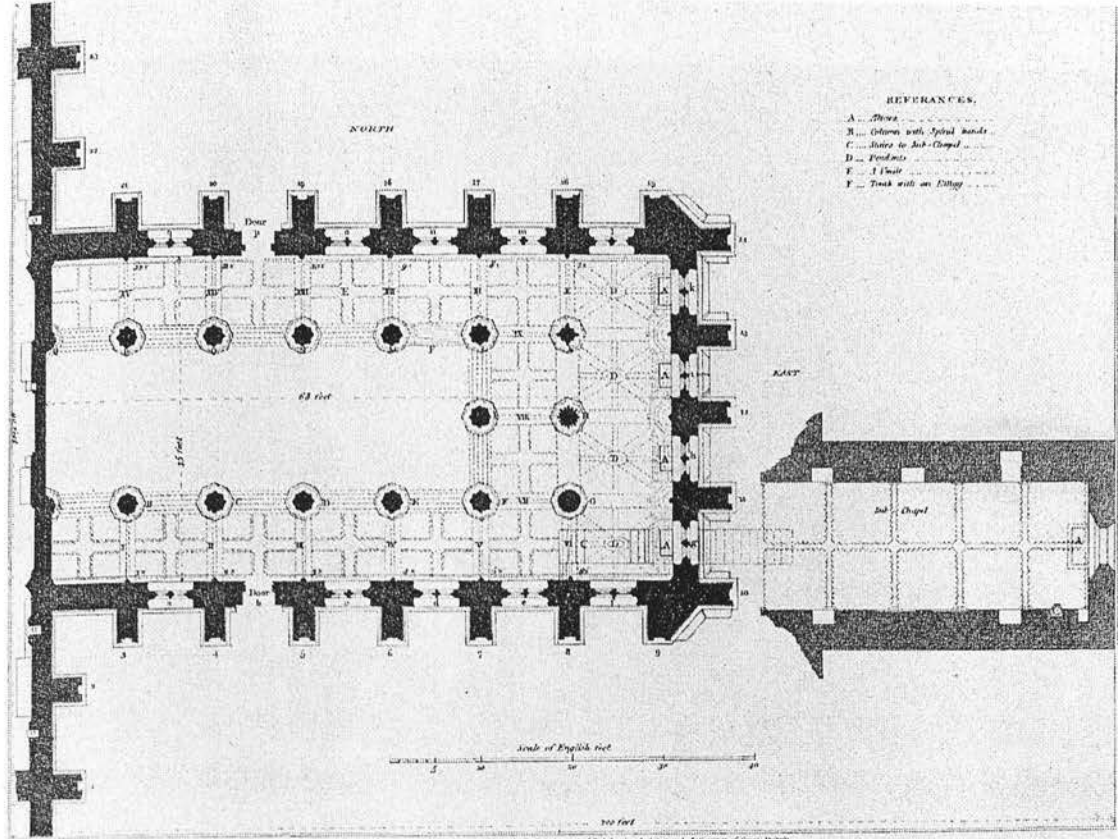
3-4. *Rosslyn Chapel Ante 1700*. First and second version of a pen drawing in Richard Augustine Hay's manuscripts *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn*. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh [cat.1.1, 1.2].



5. Joseph Michael Gandy, *The Tomb of Merlin*. Watercolour, 1815. Library Drawings Collections, Royal Institute of British Architects, London.
6. Henry William Pickersgill, *Portrait of Joseph Michael Gandy*. Pencil on paper, 1822. National Portrait Gallery, London.



7. John Burnett after Joseph Michael Gandy, *Interior view of Rosslyn Chapel*. Engraving from J.Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1812 [cat.68.7].
8. George Shepherd after Joseph Michael Gandy, *Interior view of the Chapel from the south aisle looking towards the Lady Chapel*. Watercolour, 1809, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [cat.10].



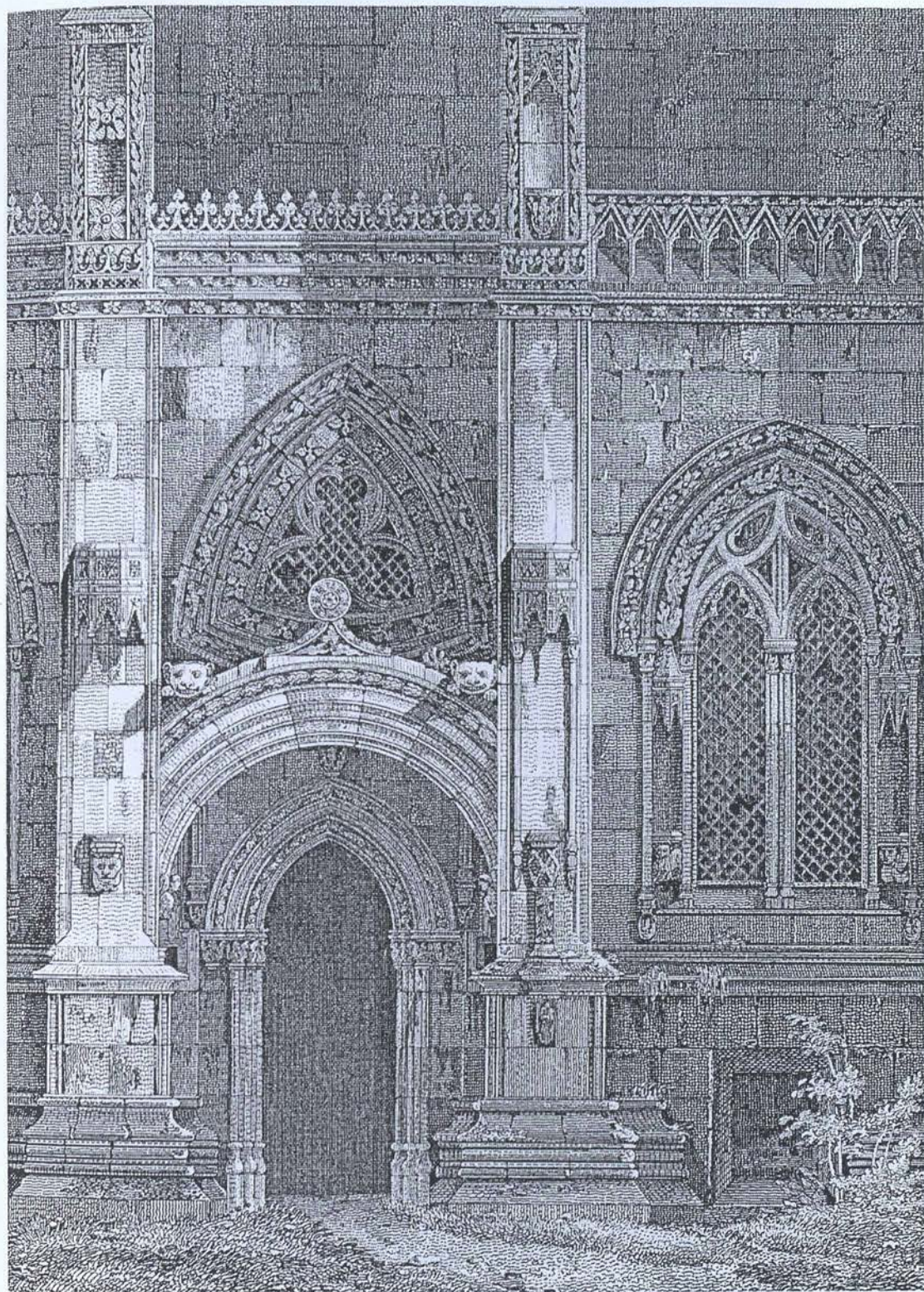
Richard Roffe after Joseph Michael Gandy,

9. *Ground Plan of Rosslyn Chapel.* Engraving from J.Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1812 [cat.68.1].
10. *East to west section of the Chapel.* Engraving from J.Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1812 [cat.68.3].



ANNIE WILSON.

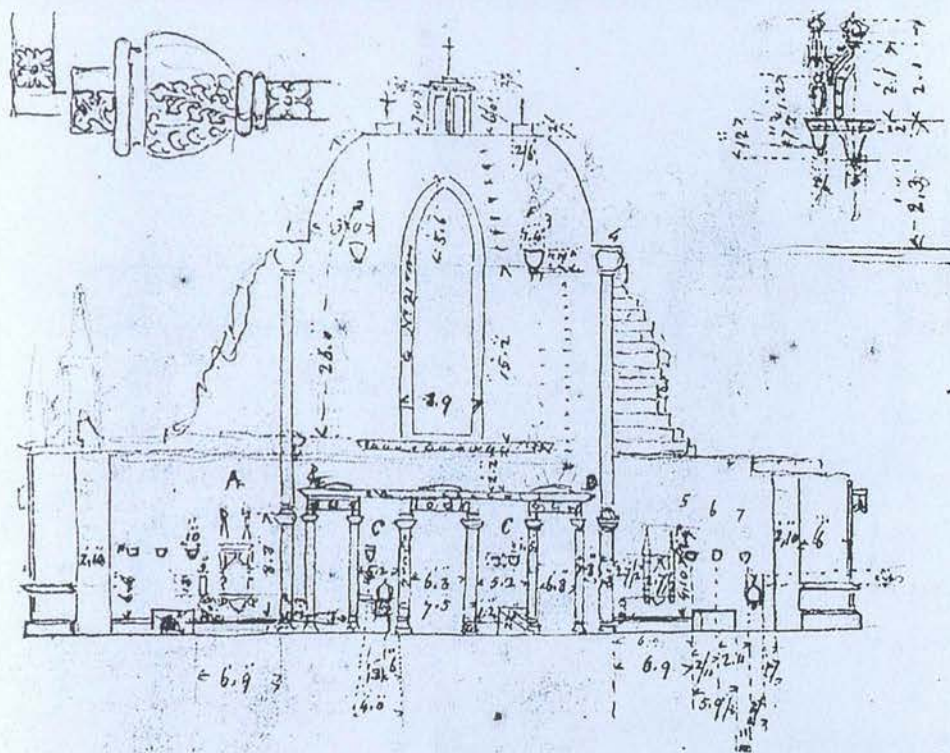
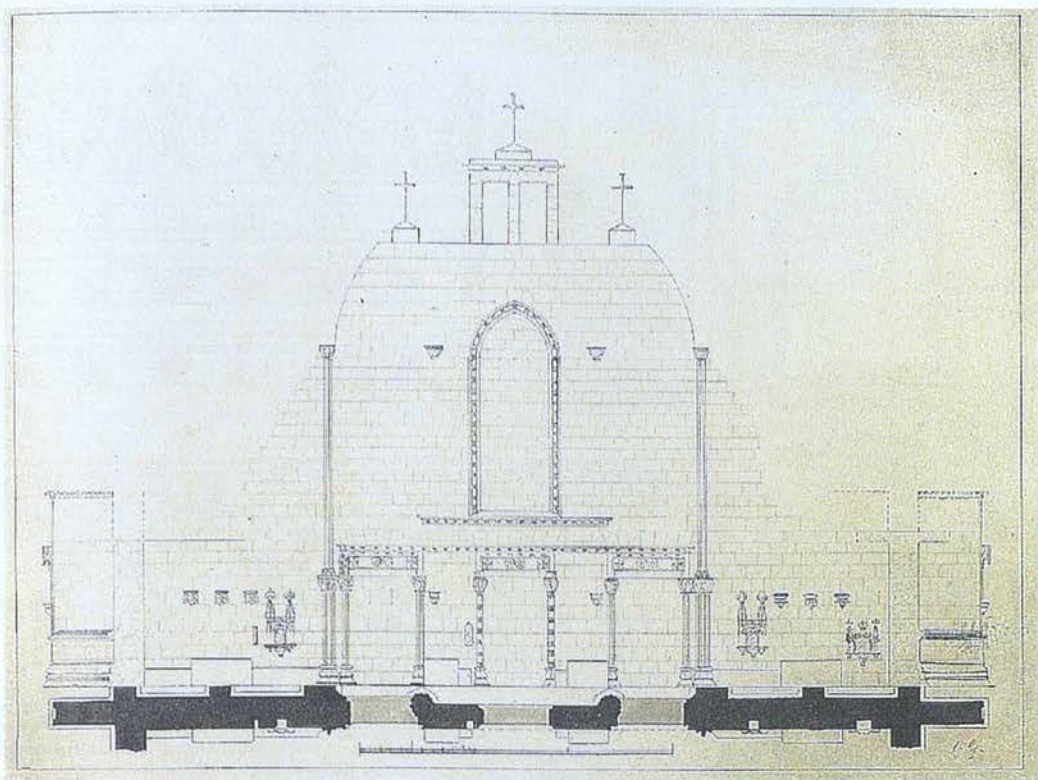
11. William Dunn, *Inside view of the Chapel*. Watercolour, 1816, Scottish Library Edinburgh City Libraries [cat.13].
12. Anonymous, *Annie Wilson*. Etching from *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1817.



13. John Burnett after Joseph Michael Gandy, *Elevation of a part of the Chapel's south side*. Engraving from J.Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1812 [cat.68.6].



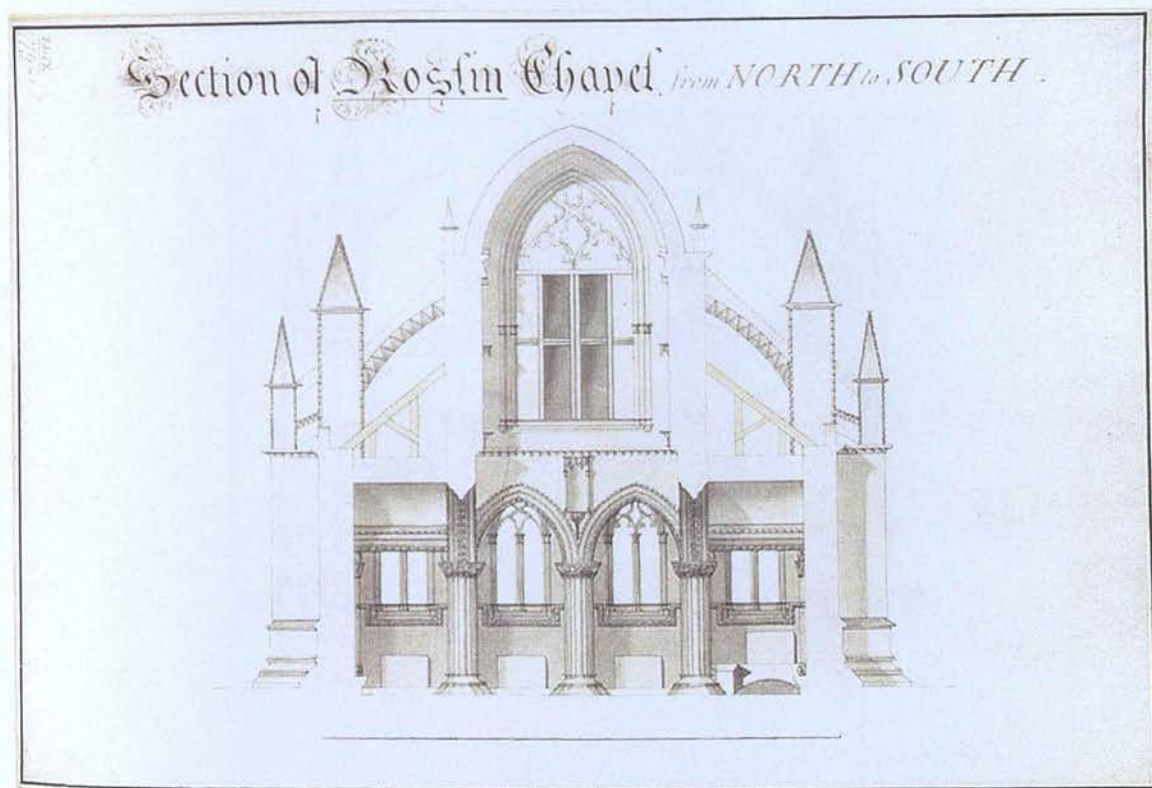
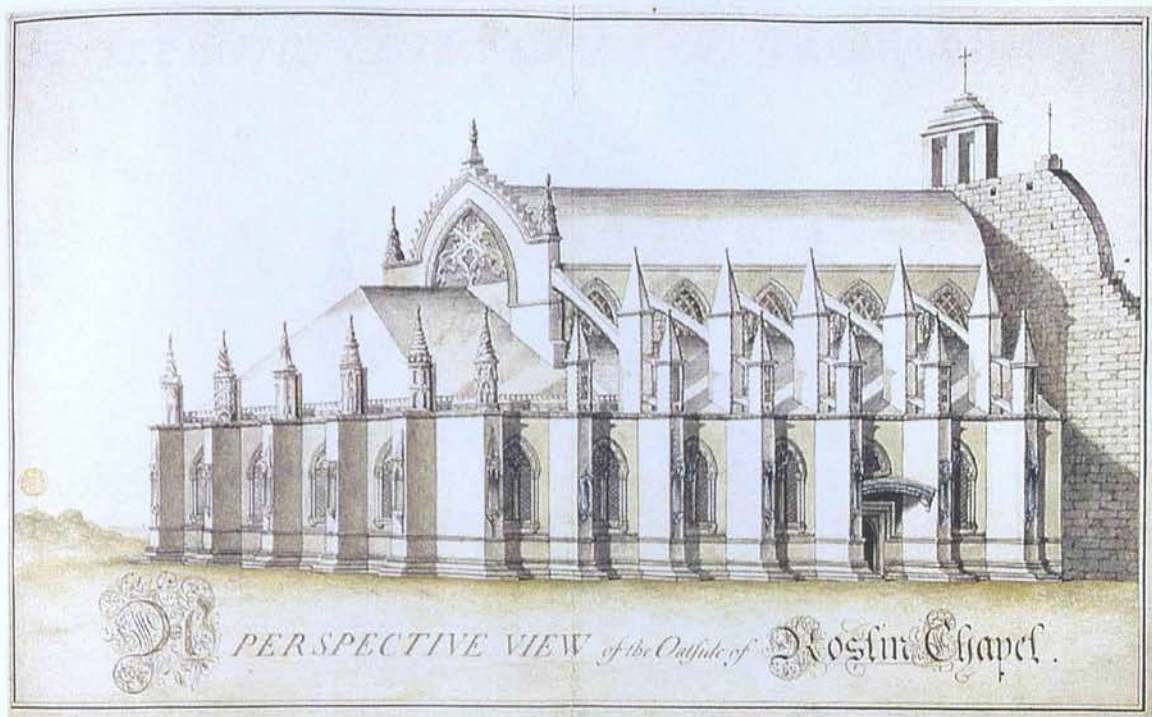
14. *Contemporary photograph of the south porch of Rosslyn Chapel. (Author's photograph)*



Joseph Michael Gandy,

16. *West end elevation of the Chapel.* Pencil and pen, c.1810. From the album *Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel*, Private Collection [cat.9.6].

17. *Survey drawing of the west end elevation.* Pencil and pen, 1806, from Gandy's sketchbook, Sir John Soane's Museum, London [cat.8.14 bis].

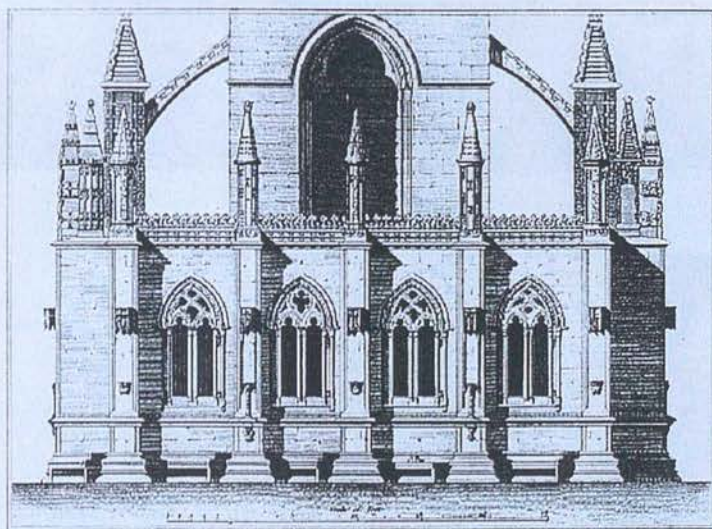
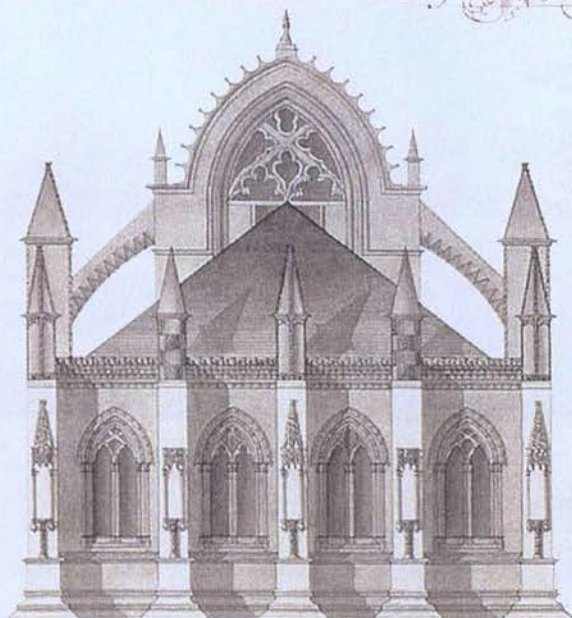


William Delacour,

20. *Perspective view of the outside of Rosslyn Chapel.* Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.6].

21. *Section of Rosslyn Chapel from North to South.* Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.9].

ELEVATION OF THE EAST END of Rosslyn Chapel.



ROSSLYN CHAPEL.

Elevation of the East end.

Engraved by J. Roffe.

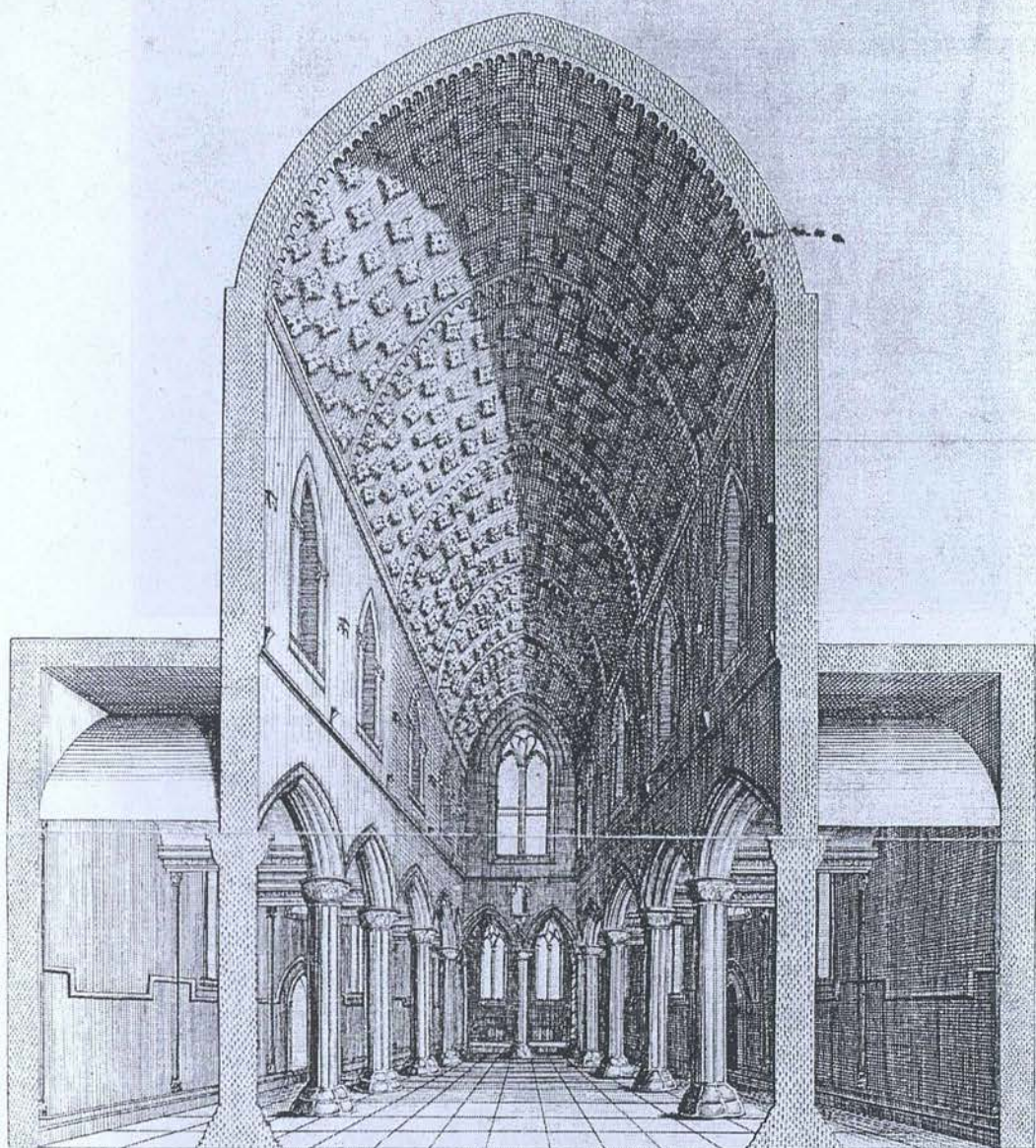
22. William Delacour, *Elevation of the east end of Rosslyn Chapel*. Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.4].

23. John Roffe after Joseph Michael Gandy, *Elevation of the east end of the Chapel*. Engraving from J. Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1812 [cat.68.4].



William Delacour,

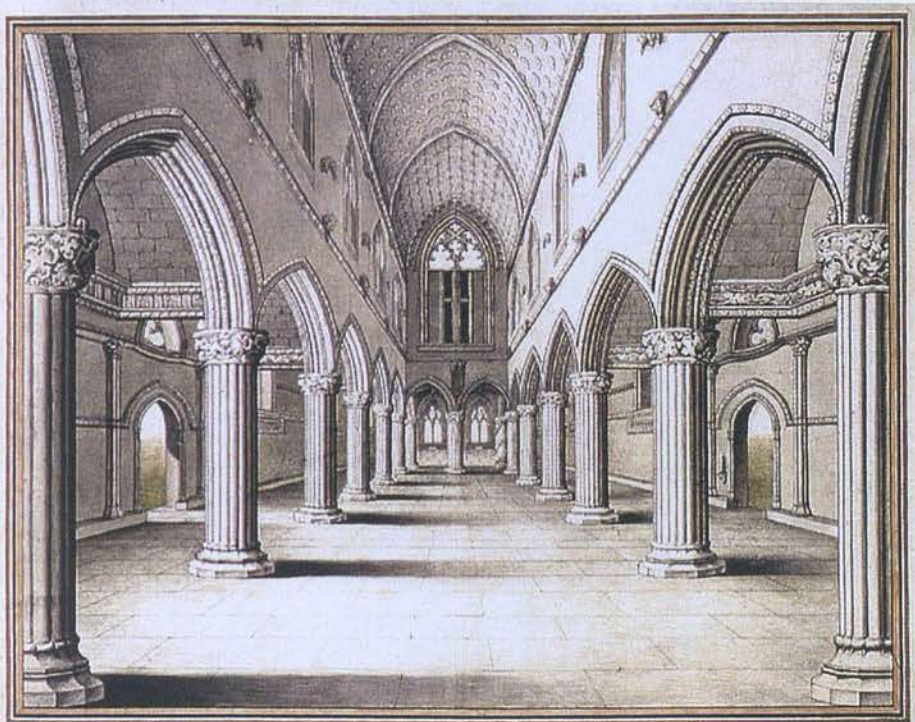
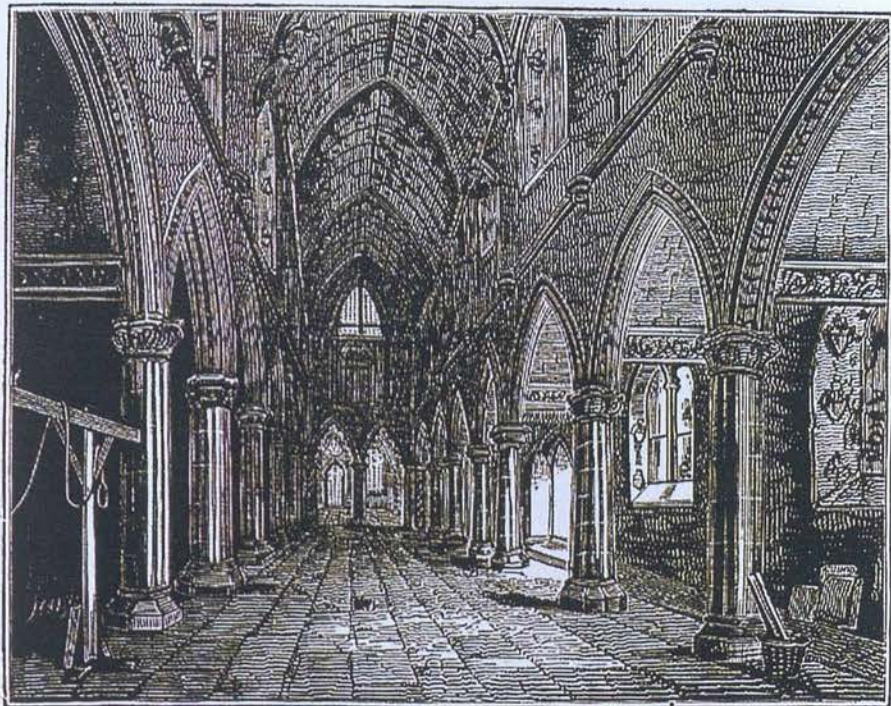
24. *The prospect of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel from south east [sic for north west].* Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.1].
25. *The prospect of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel from north west [sic for south east].* Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.2].
26. *Self portrait.* Oil on panel, c.1765. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.



An inside Perspective View of the Chapel of Rosslyn

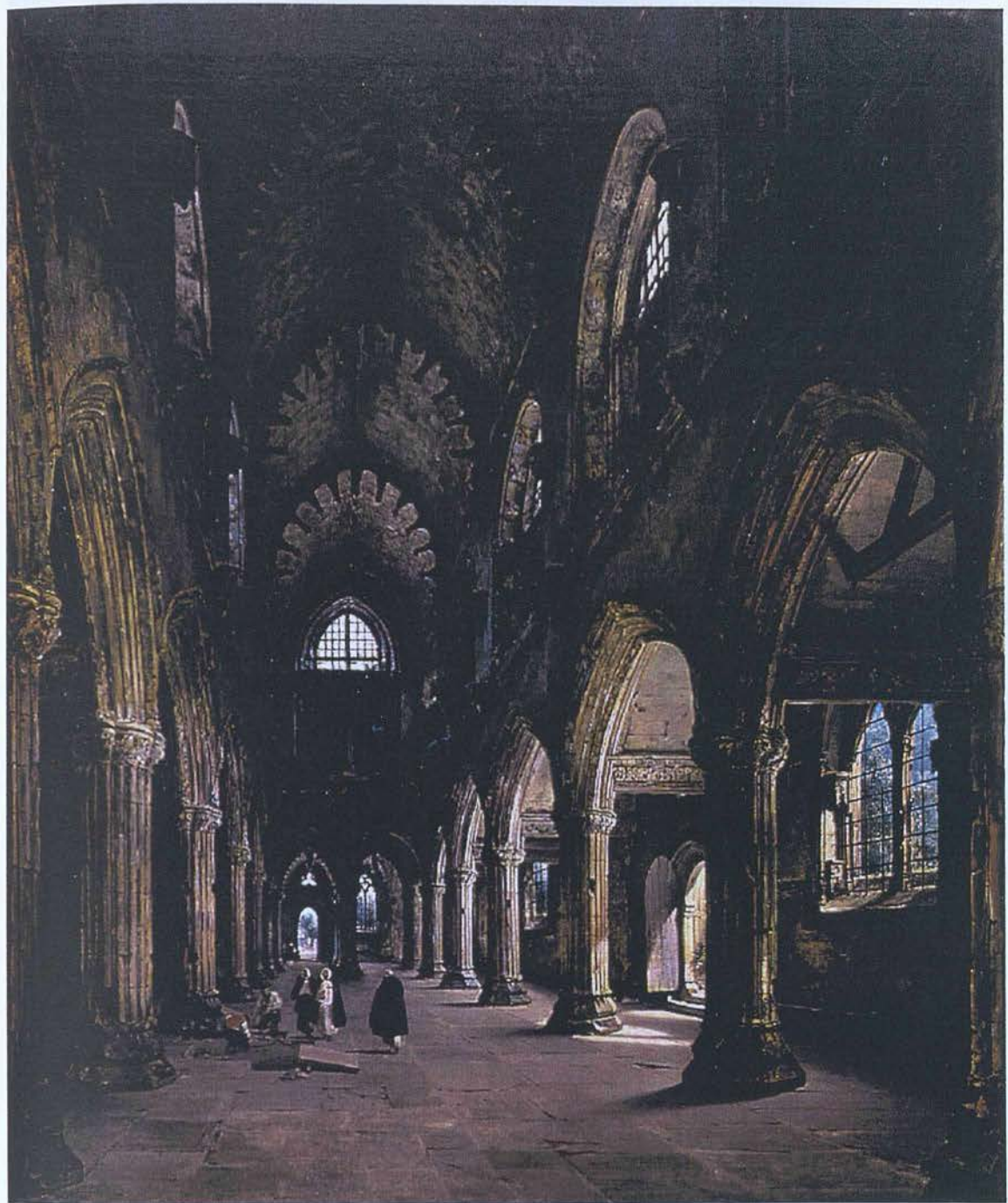
27. Andrew Bell, *Diagrammatic section and interior perspective view of Rosslyn Chapel*.
Engraving from *The Edinburgh Magazine*, 1761 [cat.63.1].

View of Roslyn Chapel, at the Diorama.

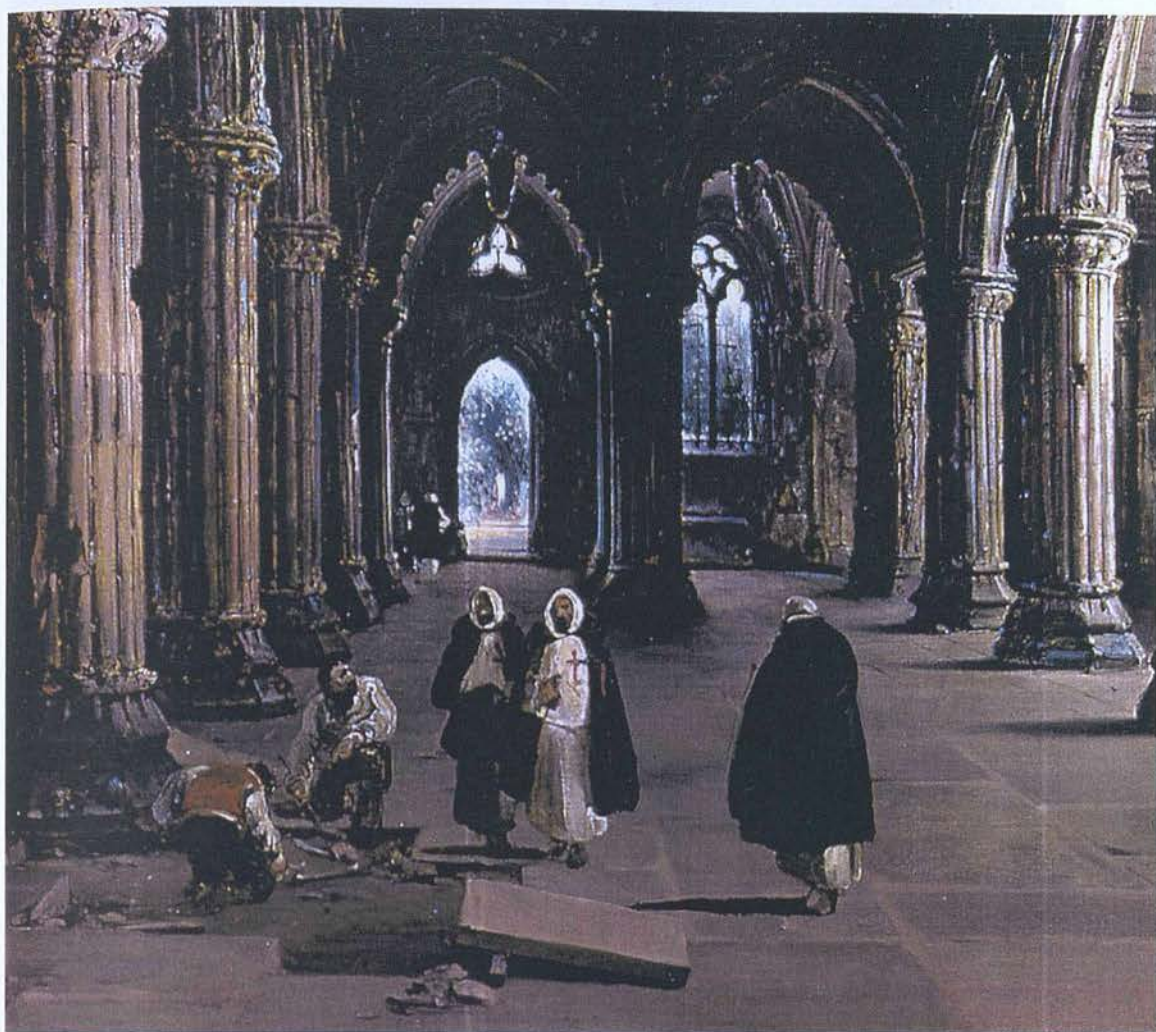


A PERSPECTIVE VIEW of the Interior of Roslyn Chapel.

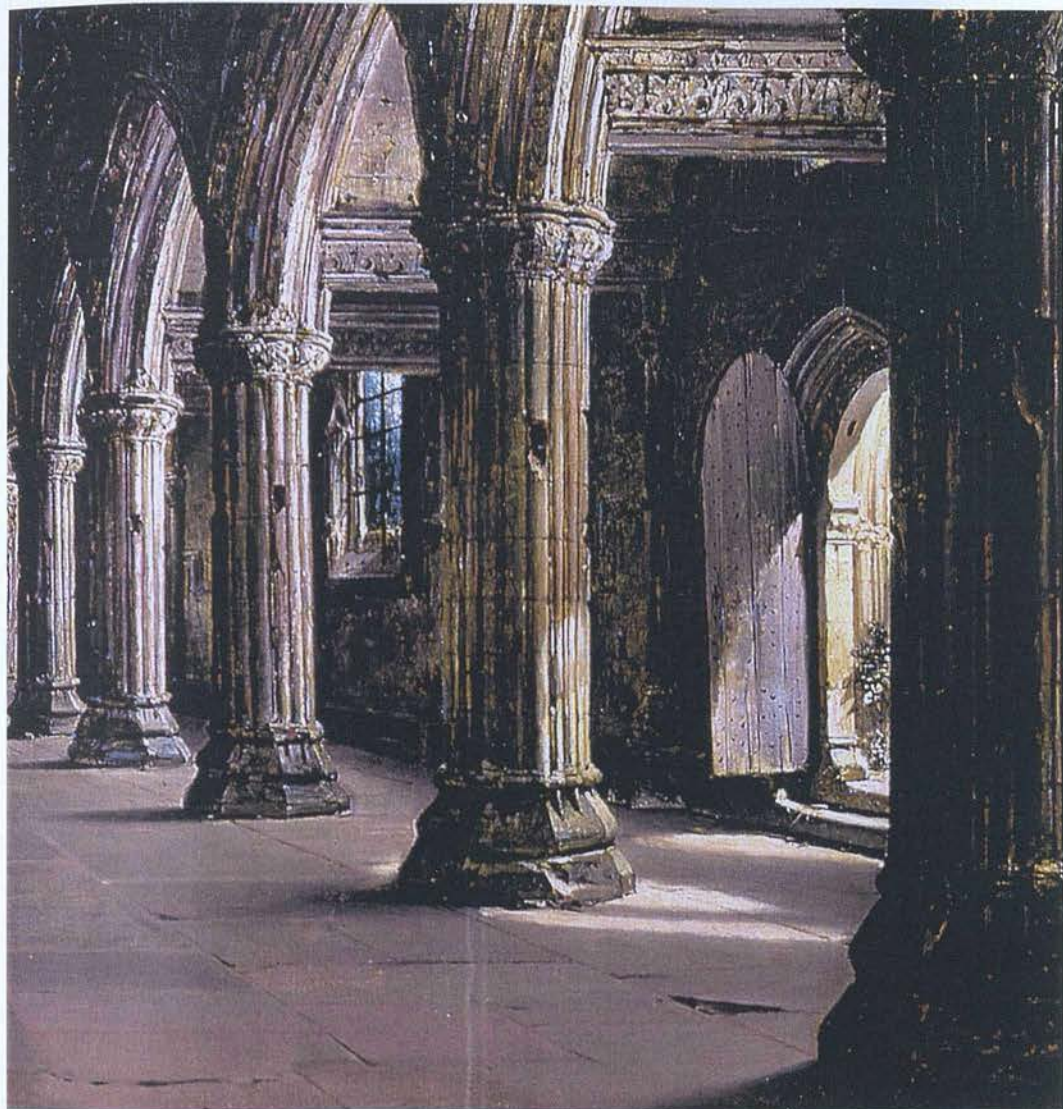
28. Anonymous, *View of Roslyn Chapel at the Diorama*. Woodcut from *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and, Instruction*, 1826 [cat.74].
29. William Delacour, *Perspective view of the inside of Rosslyn Chapel*. Pen and wash, c.1761. British Library, London [cat.2.7].



30. Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, *Rosslyn Chapel effect of sun* [*Diorama subject*].
Oil on canvas, signed and dated 1824. Private Collection [cat.51].



31. Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, *Detail of Rosslyn Chapel effect of Sun showing the opening of a doorway on the east end wall*. Oil on canvas, 1824. Private Collection [detail cat.51].



32. Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, *Detail of Rosslyn Chapel effect of Sun showing the hole in the piers*. Oil on canvas, 1824. Private Collection [detail cat.51].

33. Thomas Vernon Begbie, *Stereophotograph of the Interior of Rosslyn Chapel*. From the original glass negative n.128, City Art Centre, Edinburgh [cat.113.16].



34. George Meikle Kemp, *Rosslyn Chapel, Apprentice Pillar*. Watercolour, 1824. Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh [cat.19].



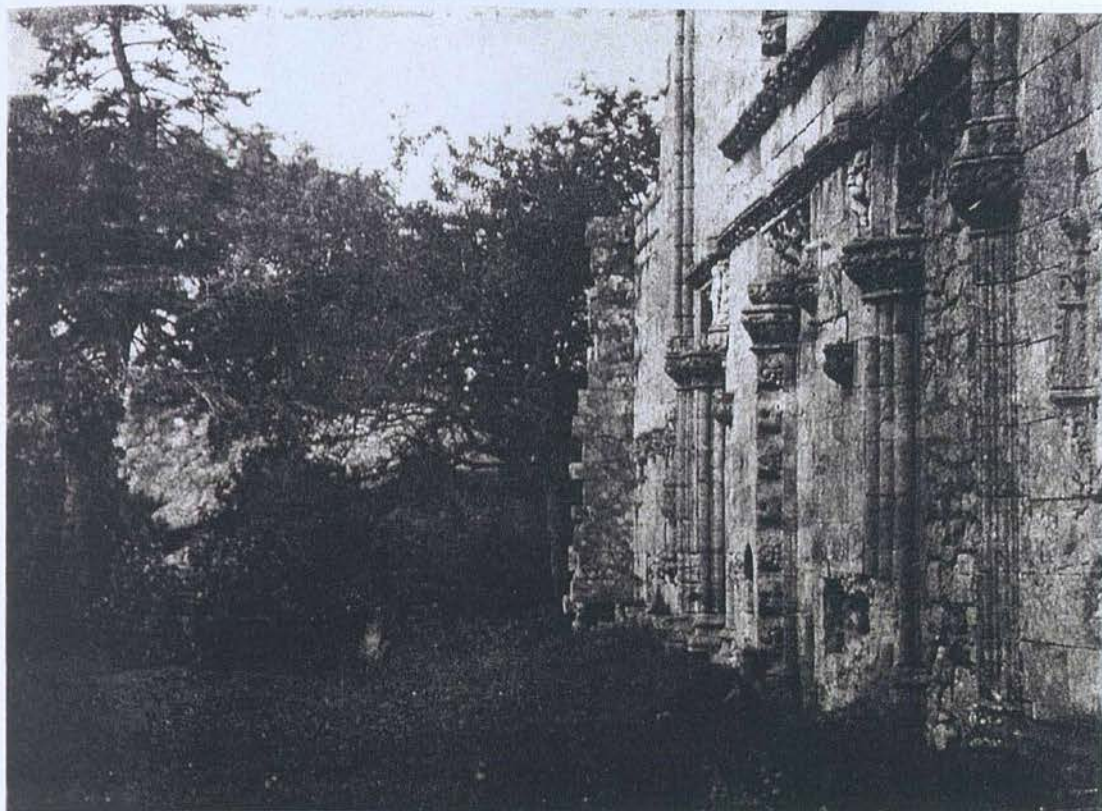
35. George Cattermole, *Rosslyn Chapel with lectern and seated figure*. Oil on millboard, c.1835. Sheffield Art Galleries [cat.53].



Designed by G. Cattermole.

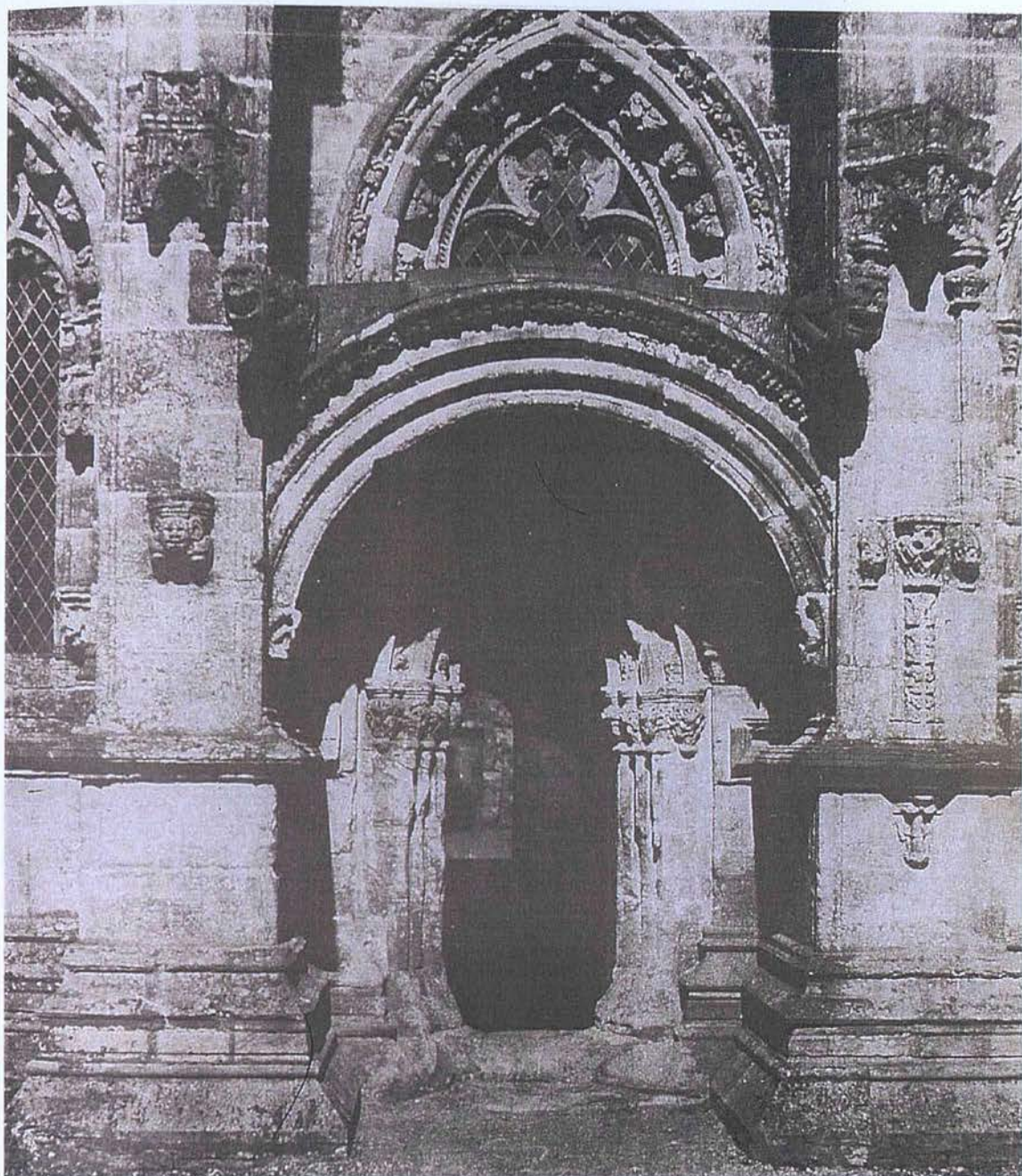
Engraved by T. H. H. H. H.

36. Thomas Higham, after George Cattermole, *Rosslyn Chapel*. Engraving from Leitch Ritchie, *Scott and Scotland*, Edinburgh 1835 [cat.77].

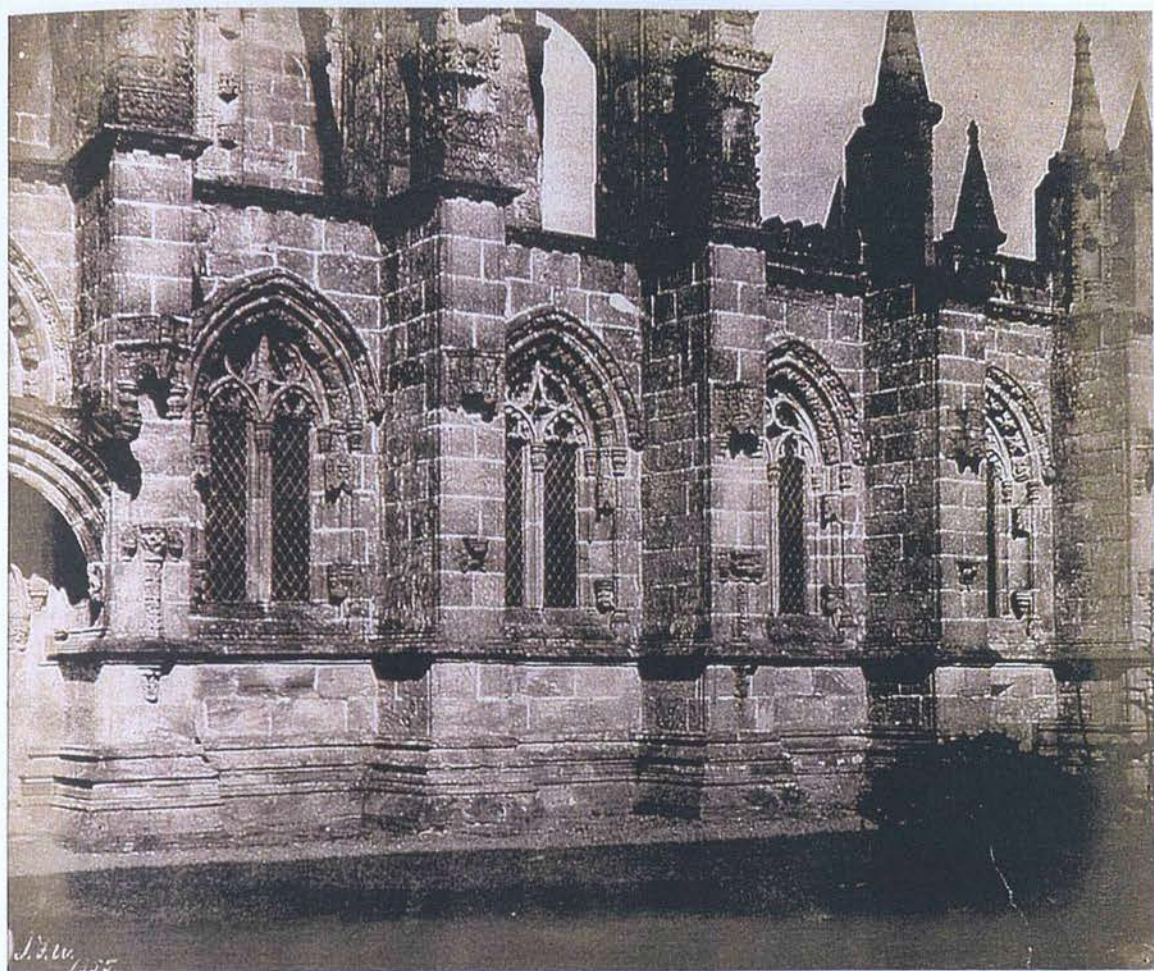


David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson,

37 - 38. *West end and interior view of the Chapel*. Calotypes, c.1843-8. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh [cat.106.1, 106.10].



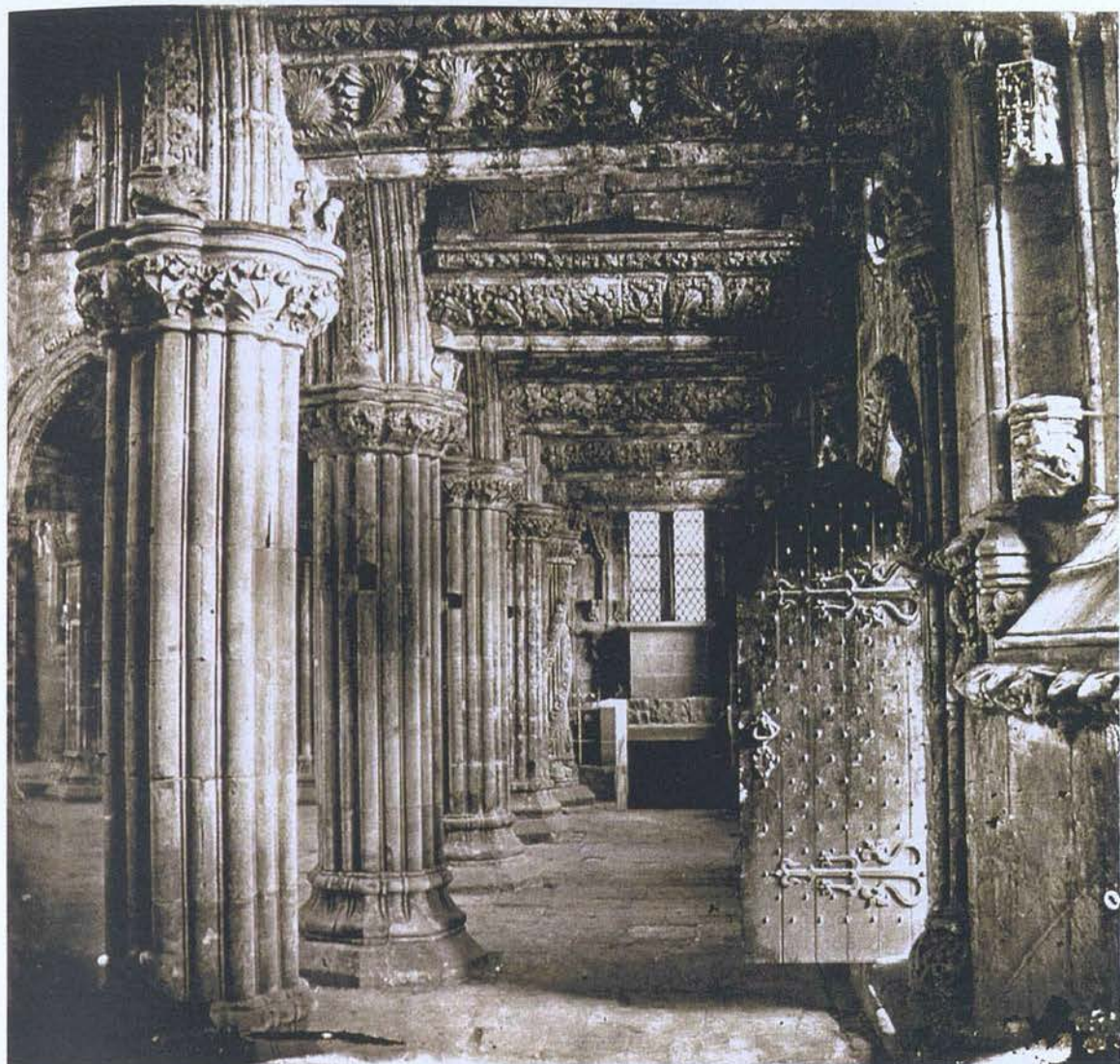
39. Thomas Keith, *South porch of Rosslyn Chapel*, c.1855. Contemporary print in the Edinburgh City Libraries from a negative in the International Museum of Photography [cat108.1].



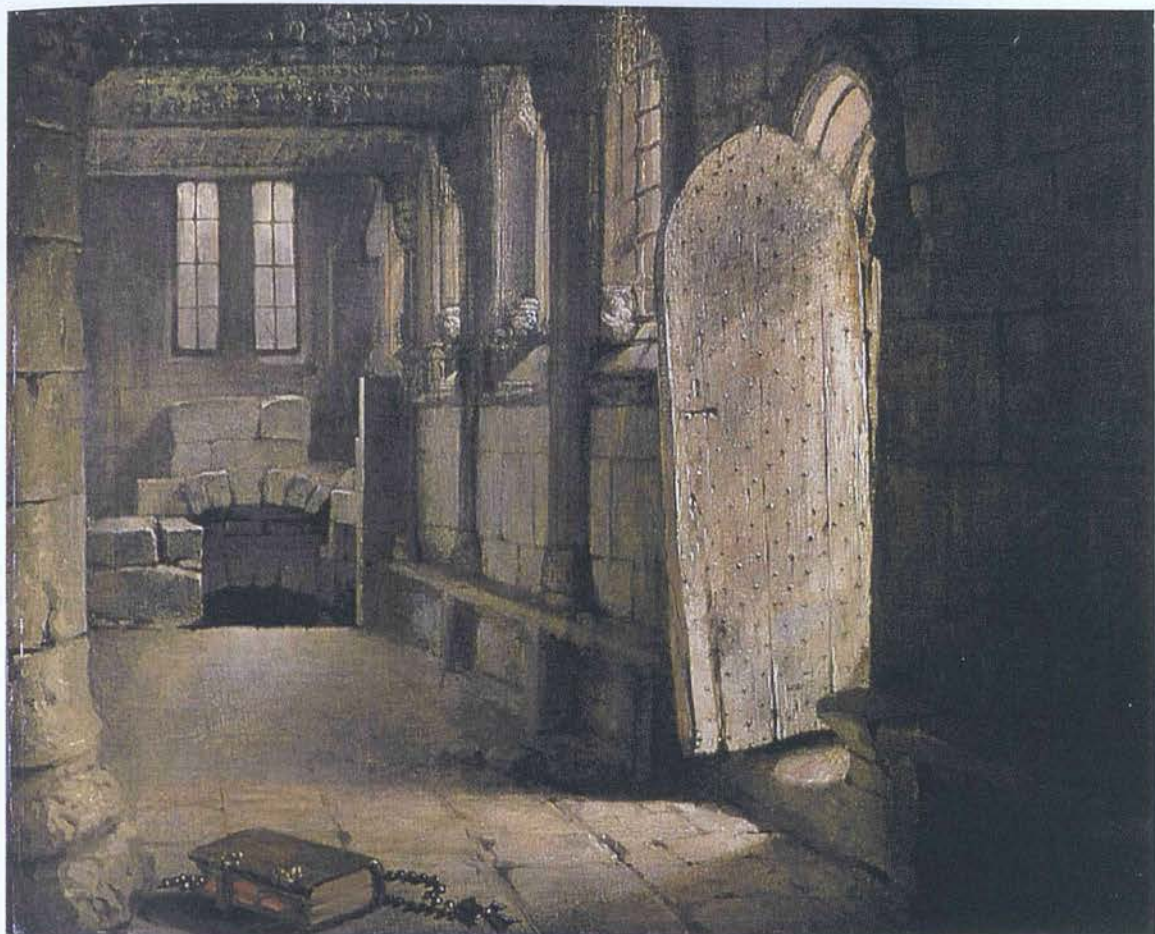
40. John Forbes White, *South side of Rosslyn Chapel*, 1855. Waxed paper process, original print in the Edinburgh City Libraries [cat.109.2].



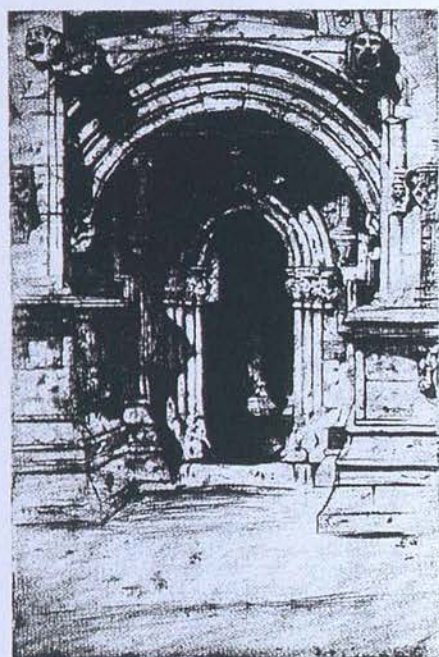
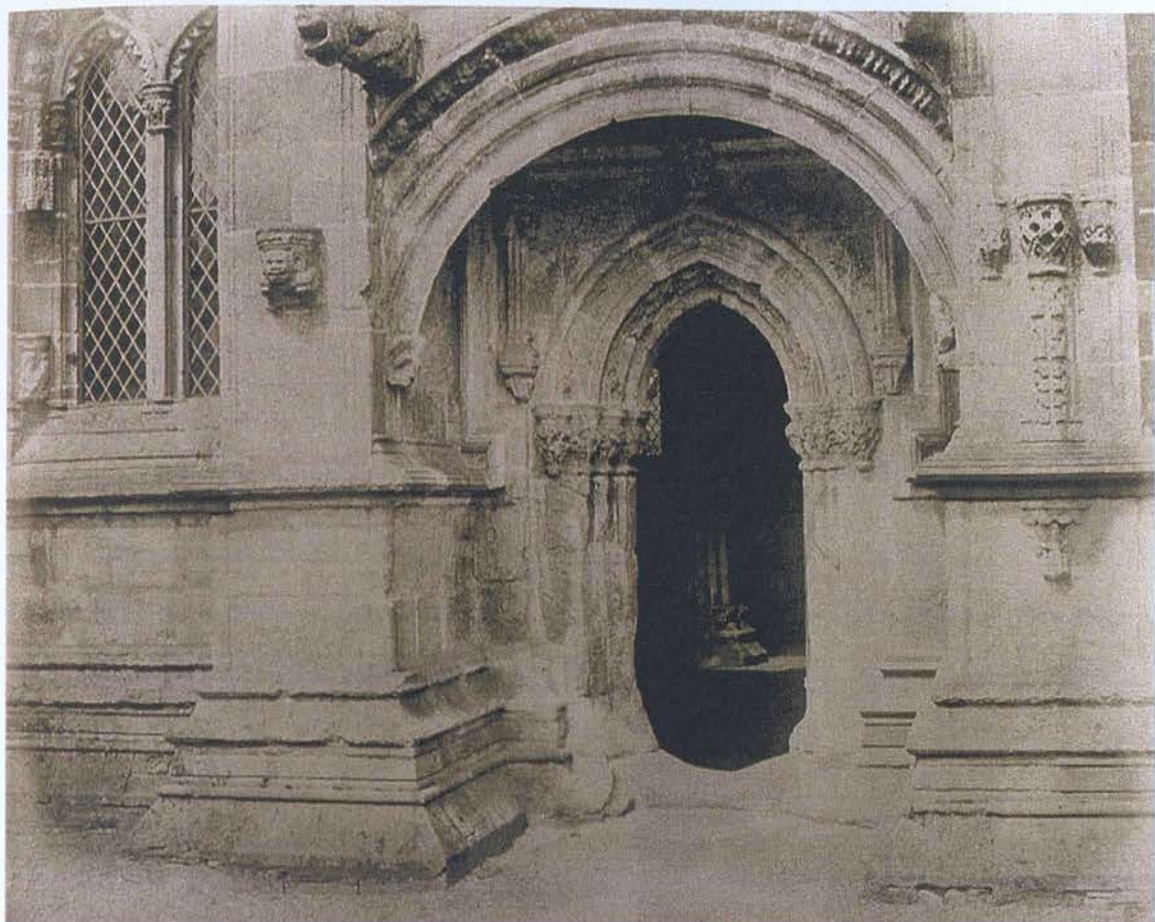
41. Roger Fenton, *South side with porch at Rosslyn Chapel*. Albumen print, signed and dated 1856. Private Collection [cat.111].



42. Thomas Vernon Begbie, *South Aisle looking east with open door* (1860-61). Contemporary print from original (stereoscopic pair) glass negative n.177, City Art Centre, Edinburgh [detail cat.113.14].



43. William Dyce, *Rosslyn Chapel, view of the south aisle looking towards east*. Oil on canvas signed and dated 1830. Private Collection [cat.56].



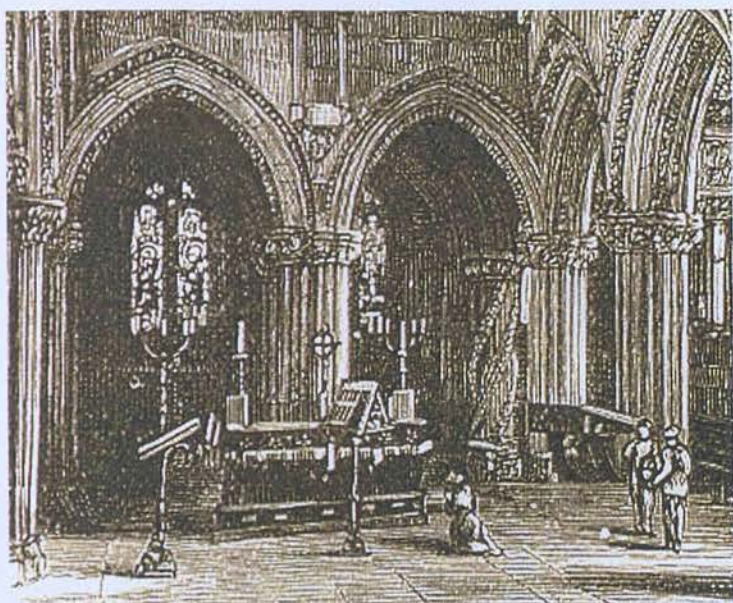
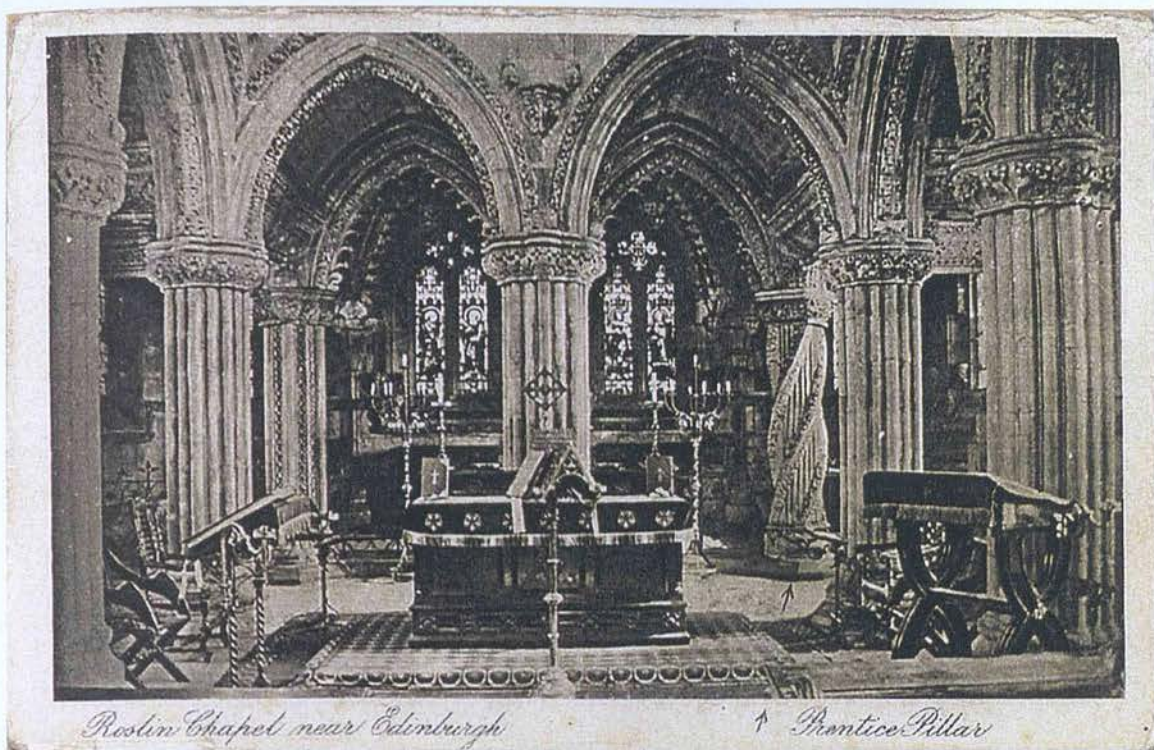
44. William Donaldson Clark, *South porch at Rosslyn Chapel*. Albumen print, 1860. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh [cat.112.1].
45. Sir David Young Cameron, *South porch of the Chapel*. Etching, 1899. Aberdeen Art Gallery [cat.96].



46. Sir David Young Cameron, *South porch of the Chapel with figure*. Etching, 1899. Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow [cat.97].



47. Josiah Wood Whymper, *The South Porch, Rosslyn Chapel*. Watercolour, 1858.
Ruskin Foundation, Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster [cat.44].



48. James Valentine, *Roslyn Chapel* postcard marking the Apprentice Pillar with arrows. Albumen print glued on paper, c.1870. Private collection [cat.117.2].
49. Anonymous, *Interior view of the Choir with furniture*. Detail of a woodcut from George Eyre-Todd, *Scotland Picturesque and Traditional*, London 1895 [cat.95].

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The W.L.S. is William Lord Sinclair who was afterwards Earl of Orkney & Chancellor of Scotland about the year 1454

The 3 left characters D, ^c III, L stand for millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo
 & the left figure between the two crosses is defined

WLS F V C V 306 Q nñ L *Blank*



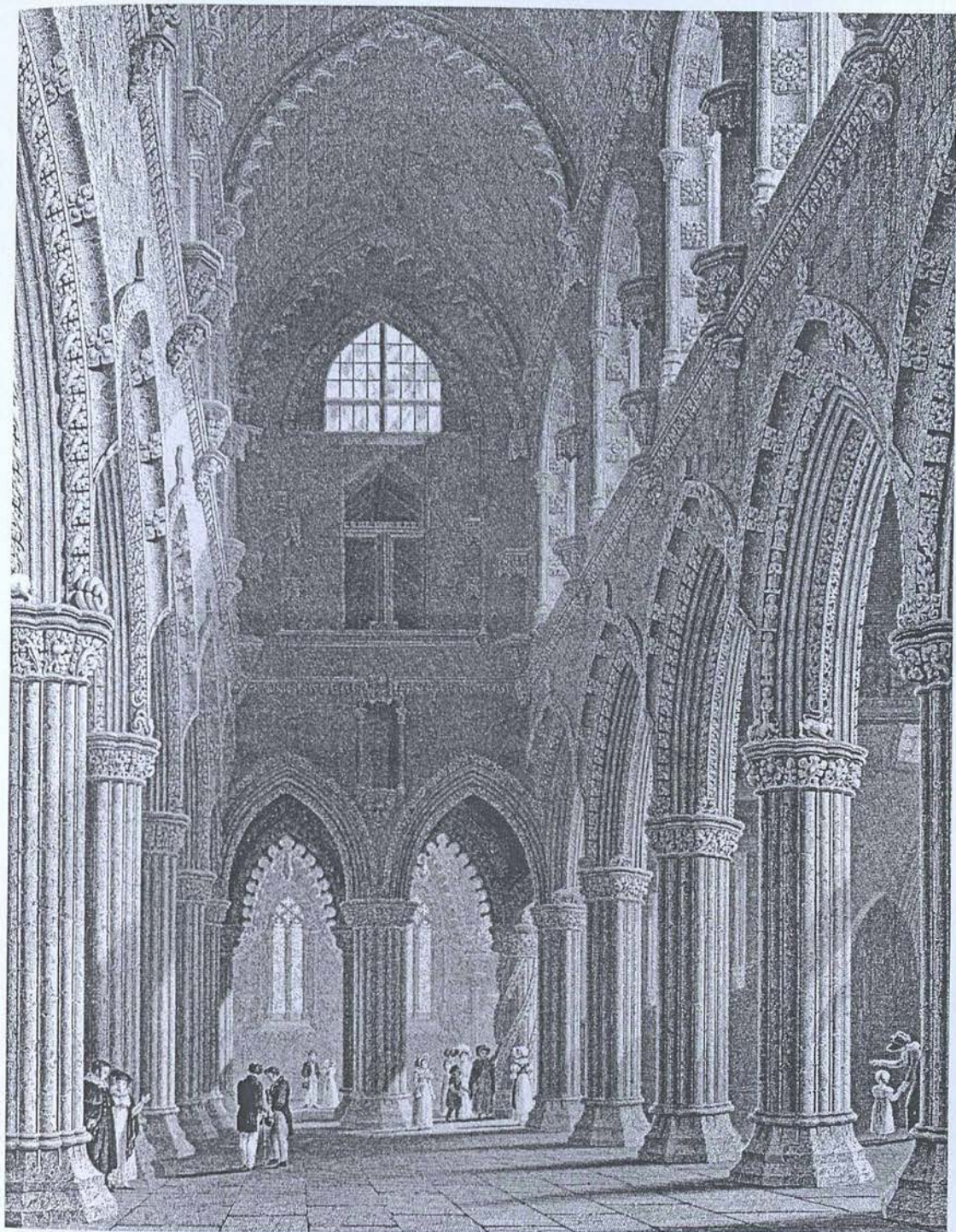
This cross is between end of the letters
a ragged cross is between end of the letters



50. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, *Sketch of frieze on north side of Rosslyn Chapel*, c.1738. From Clerk muniments at the National Archives of Scotland [GD 18/5111].
51. Astle Thomas, *Seal of Sir William St Clair, sixth Baron of Rosslyn, in a charter of confirmation from Alexander III*. Engraving from *An Account of the Seals of the Kings, Royal Boroughs, and Magnates of Scotland*, 1792.



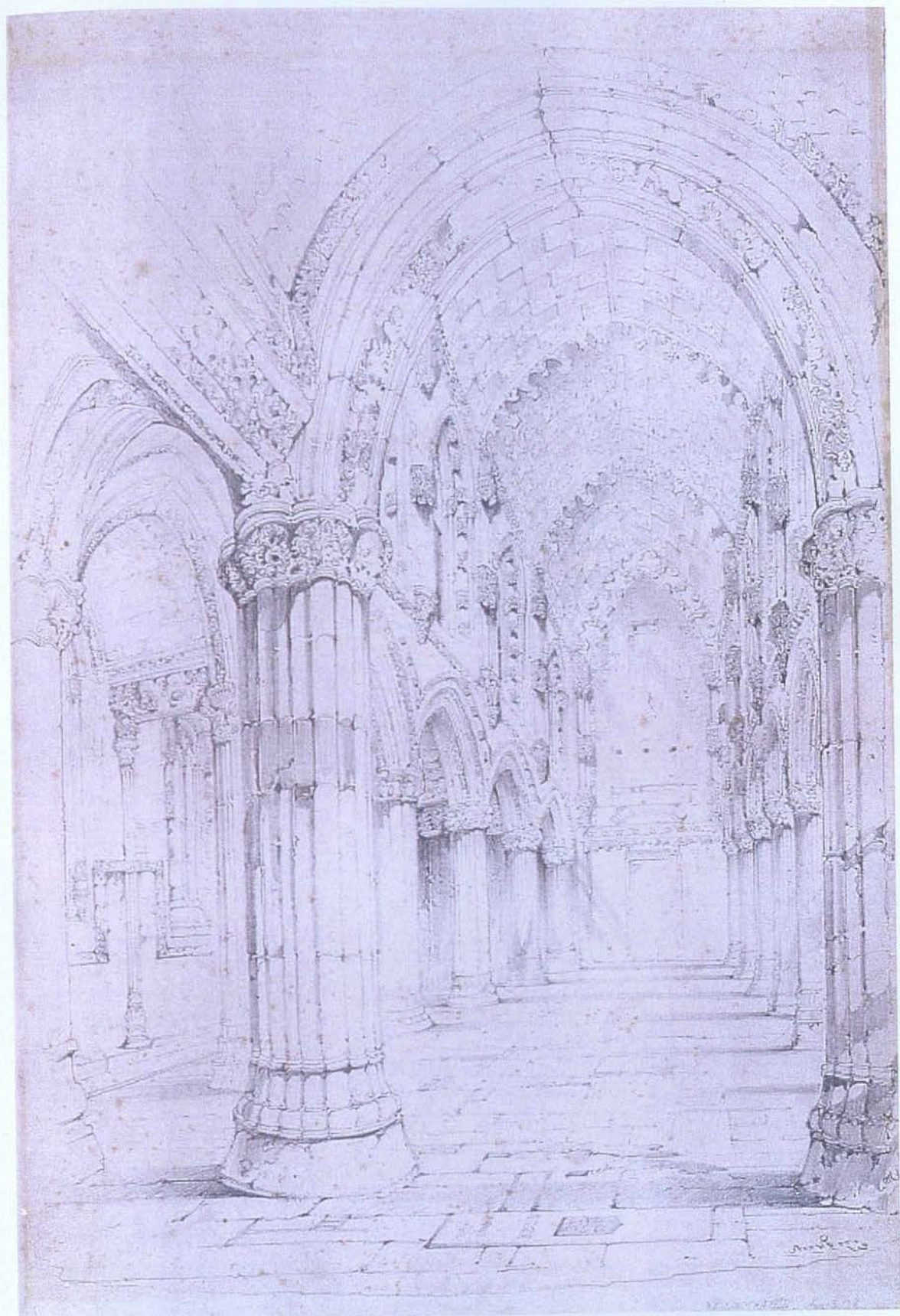
52. Alexander Nasmyth, *Rosslyn Chapel and Castle*. Oil on canvas, c.1789. Private collection [cat.50].
53. Hugh William Williams, *Rosslyn Castle from North [Chapel in the background]*. Watercolour, 1805. Private Collection [cat.4].



54. Edward Blore, *Interior of Rosslyn Chapel*. Engraving from Sir Walter Scott, *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland with Descriptive Illustrations*, 1826 [cat.75.2].



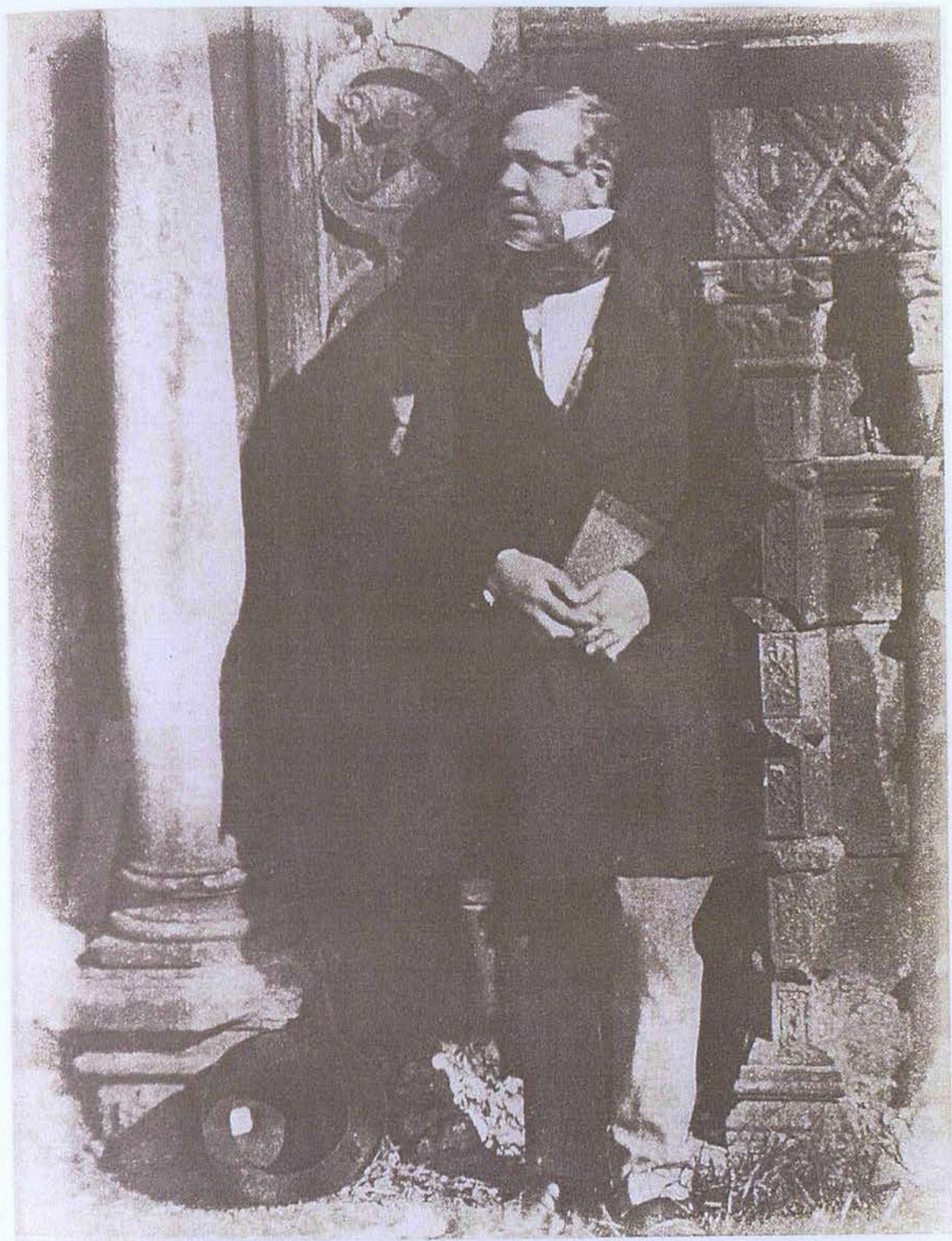
55. William Raymond Smith after Joseph Mallord William Turner, *View of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel*. Engraving from Sir Walter Scott, *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland with Descriptive Illustrations*, 1826 [cat.76].
56. Joseph Mallord William Turner, *View of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel*. Watercolour, c.1822. Indianapolis Museum of Art [cat.16].



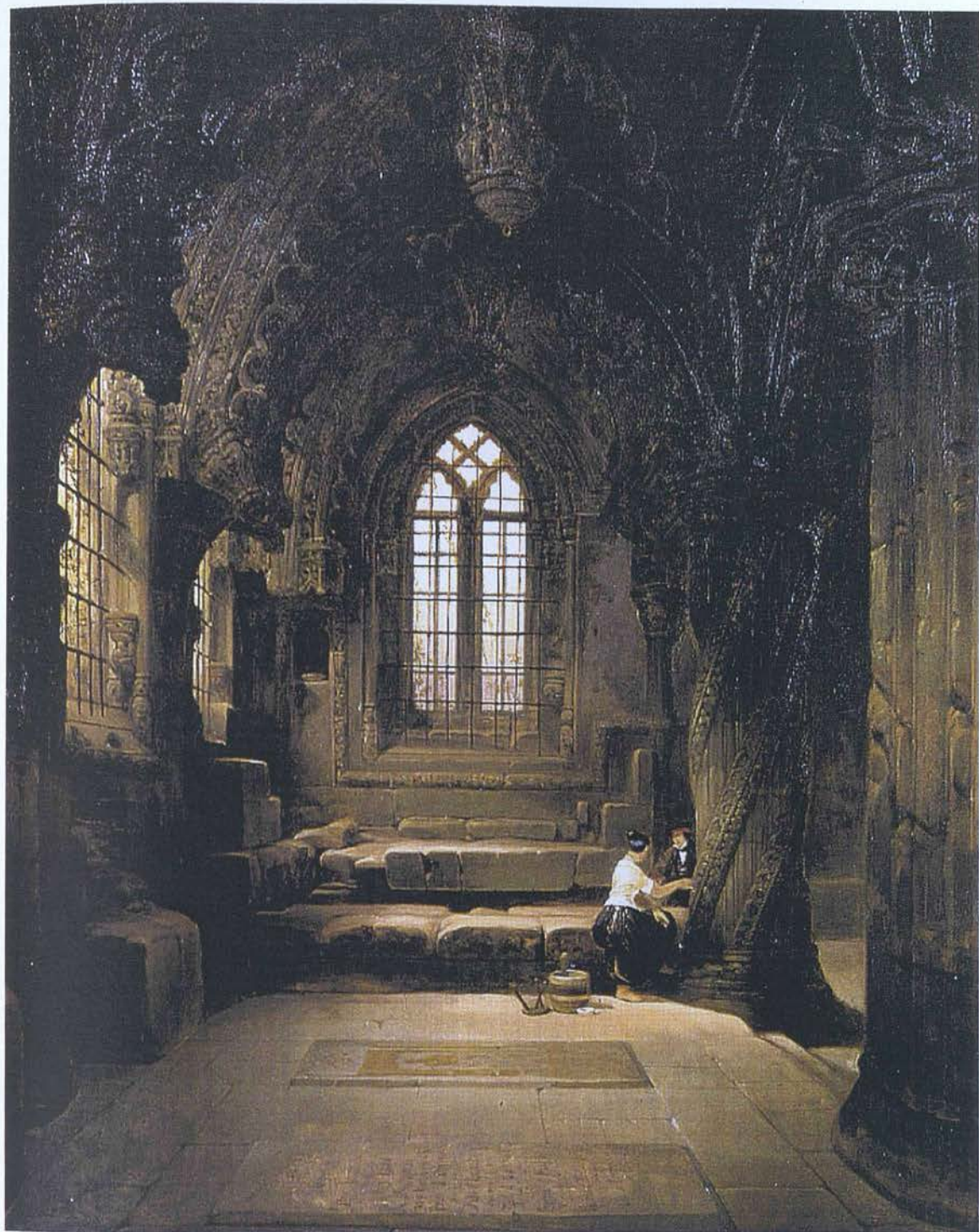
57. John Ruskin, *Rosslyn Chapel Interior*. Pencil on paper, 1838. Ruskin Foundation, Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster [cat.36].



58. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *The Architect William Burn at Rosslyn Chapel*. Calotype, c.1843-1848. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh [cat.106.11].



59. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *David Roberts*. Calotype, c.1845. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.



60. David Roberts, *The Entrance to the Crypt*. Oil on panel, 1843. Victoria and Albert Museum, London [cat.54].

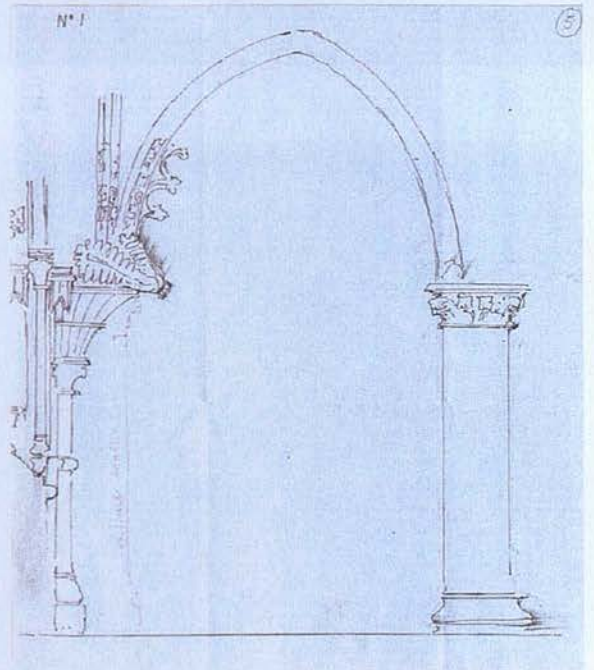
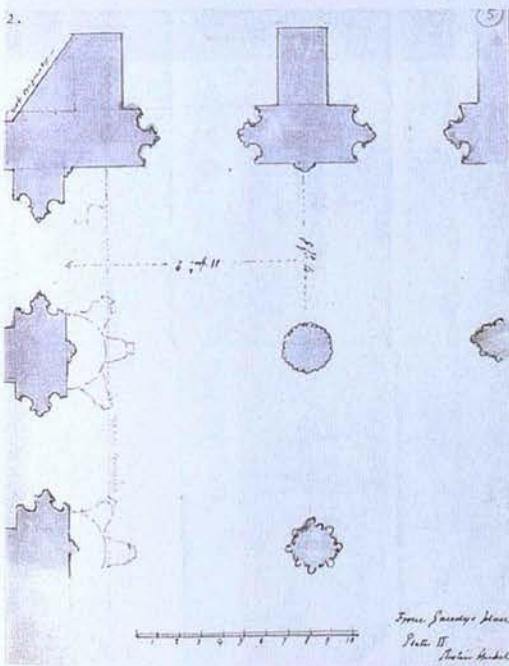
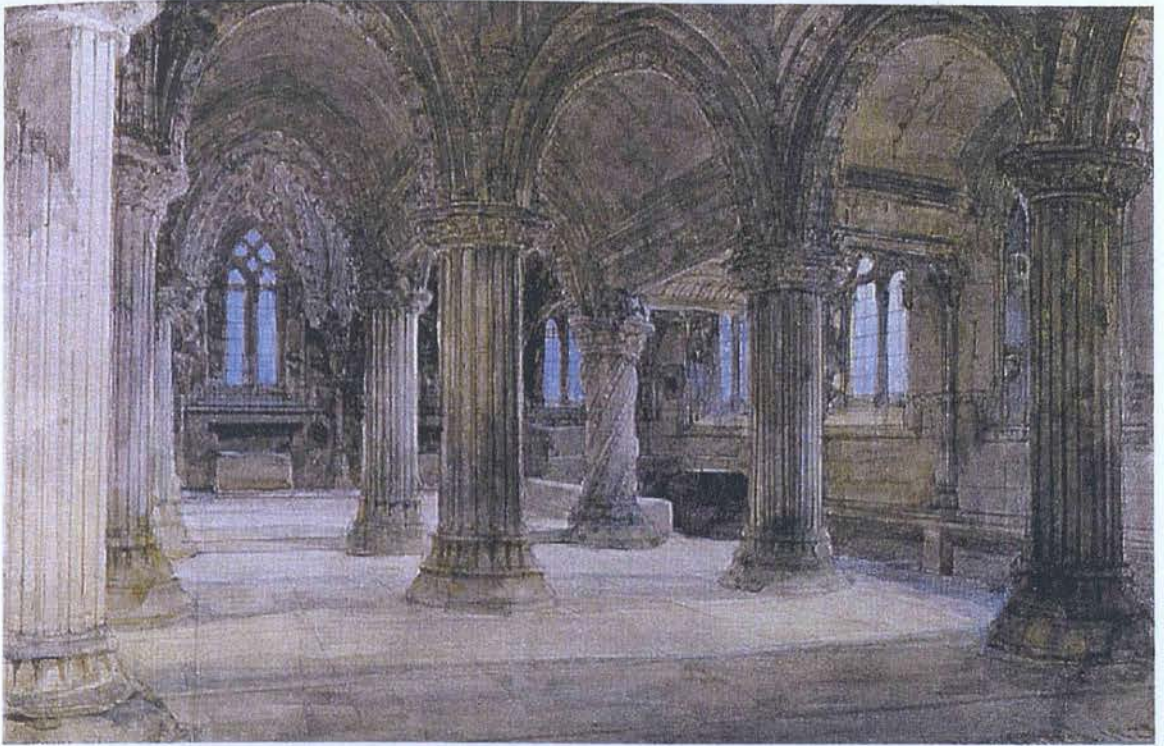


David Roberts,

61. *Rosslyn Chapel from north-east*. Watercolour, c.1840. Private Collection [cat.30].
62. *The south porch of Rosslyn Chapel*. Watercolour, c.1842. Private Collection [cat.31].
63. *The south porch of Rosslyn Chapel*. Oil on canvas, 1845. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery [cat.55].

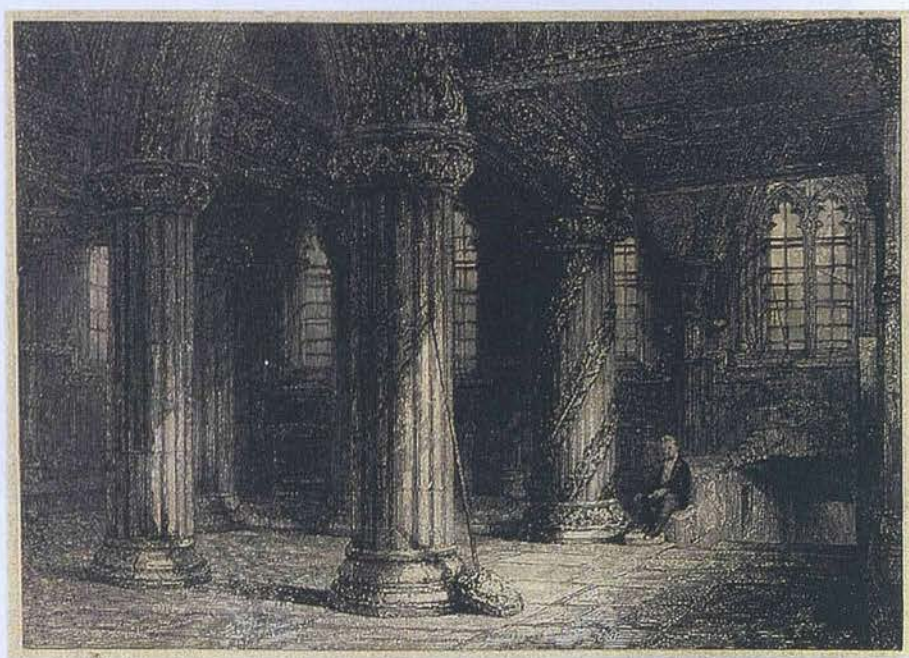


64. David Roberts, *The Apprentice Pillar*. Watercolour, 1830. Victoria and Albert Museum, London [cat.29].

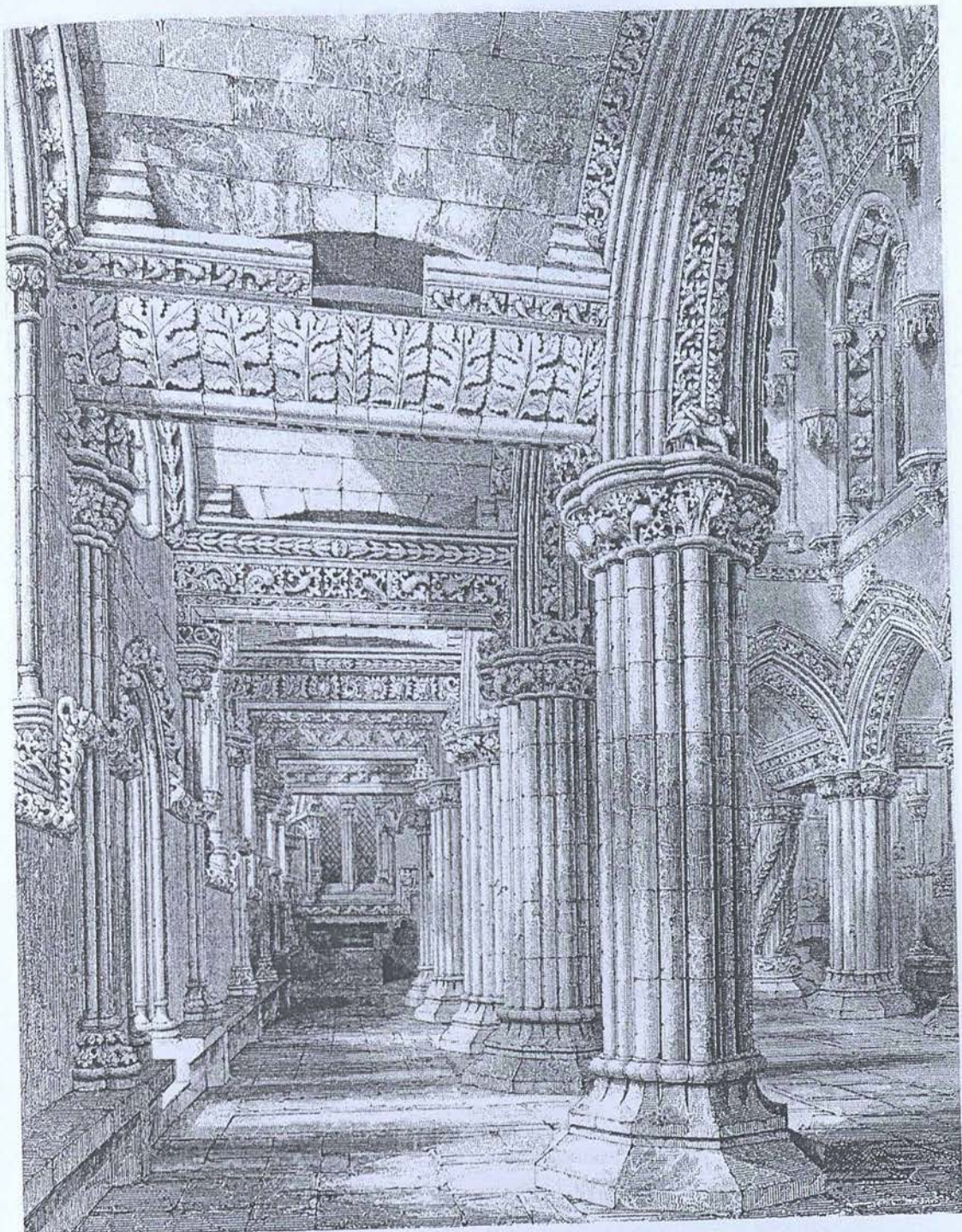


David Roberts,

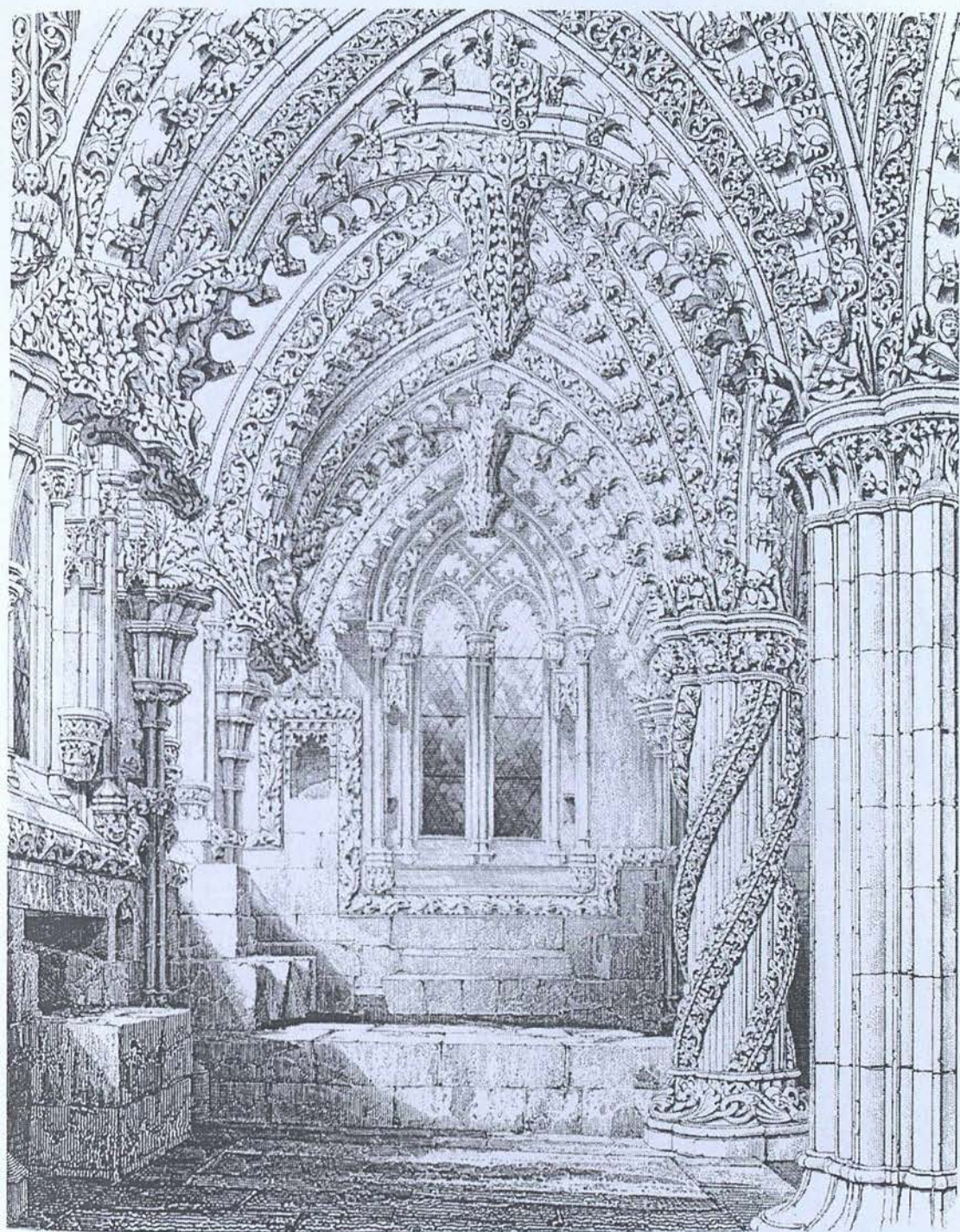
65. *Interior of Rosslyn Chapel, looking south-east.* Watercolour, 1828. Private Collection [cat.28].
66. *Plan of the Chancel with red ink dotted lines showing Roberts's idea of the east-end wall.* Pen drawing, 1846. From the album *Documents*, Private Collection [cat.34.3].
67. *Section of the Lady Chapel.* Pen drawing, 1846. From the album *Documents*, Private Collection [cat.34.2].



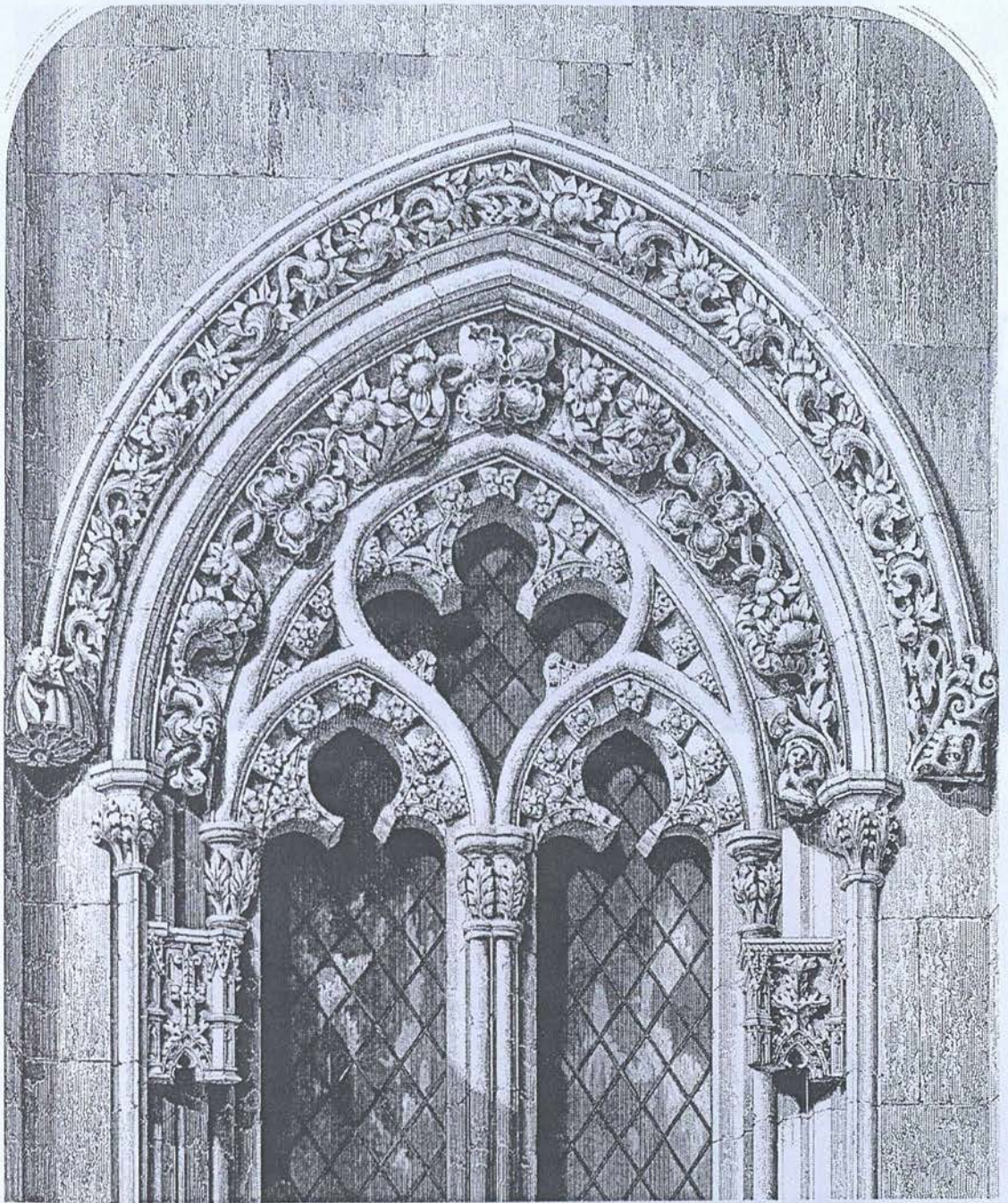
68. John Adam Houston, *Sir Walter Scott in Rosslyn Chapel*. Watercolour, 1854. Private collection of Mr and Mrs P. Wilcockson [cat.43].
69. J.A.Bell and Joseph Clayton Bentley, *Interior view of the Chapel with Sir Walter Scott*. Engraving, c.1840. From the album *Documents*, Private Collection [cat.83].



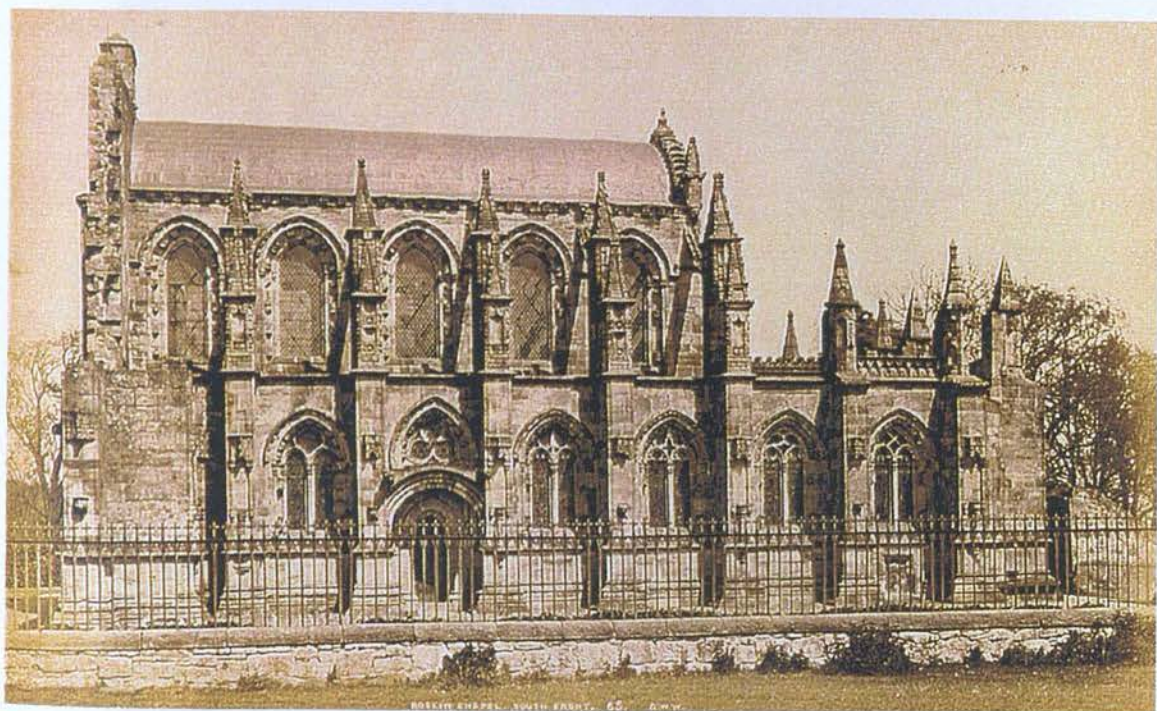
70. Robert William Billings, *Rosslyn Chapel. The North Aisle*. Engraving from *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 1845 [cat.84.5].



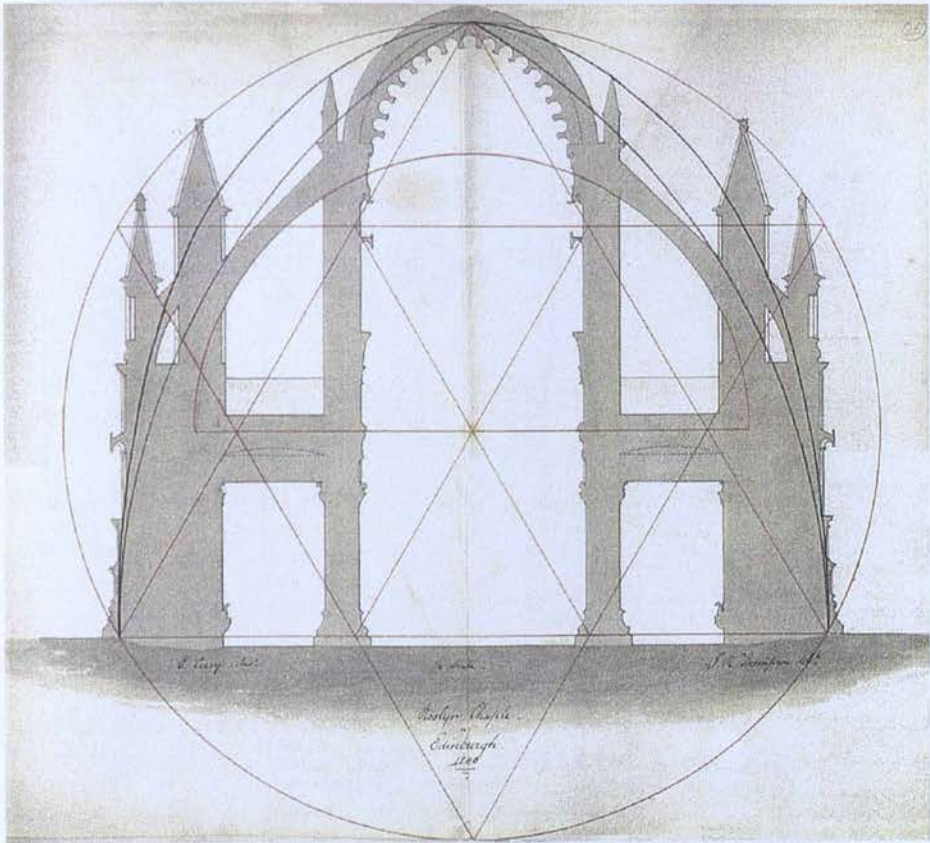
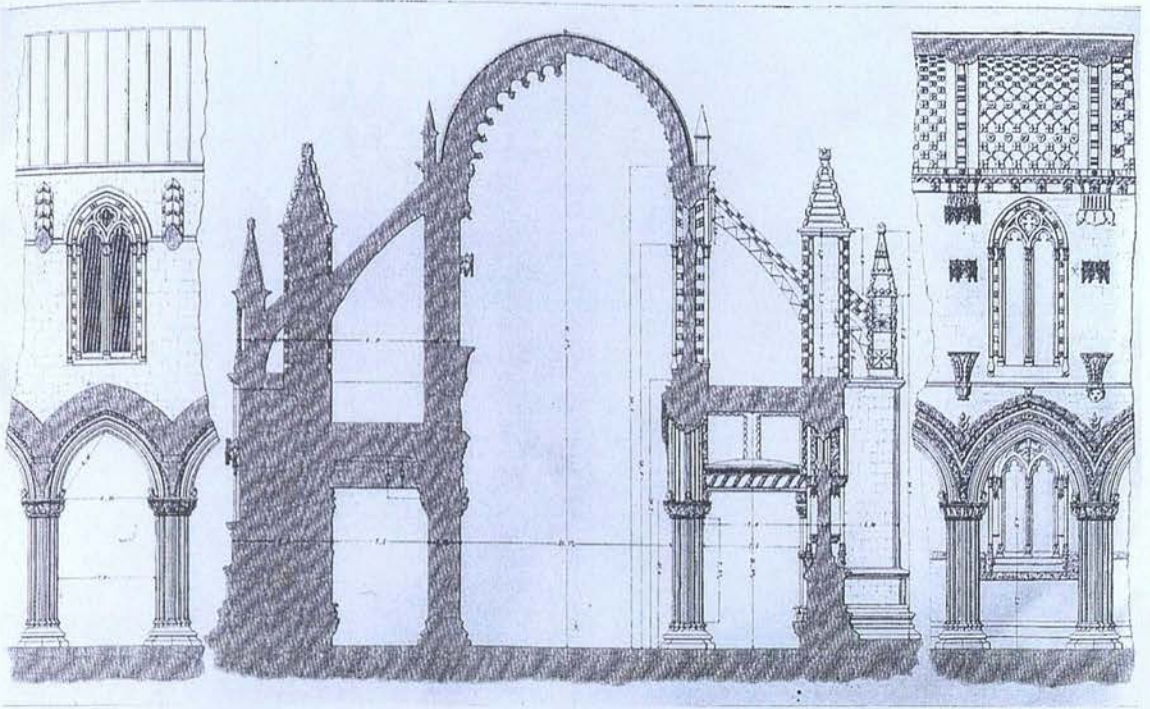
71. Robert William Billings, *The Eastern Aisle-Rosslyn Chapel*. Engraving from *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 1845 [cat.84.7].



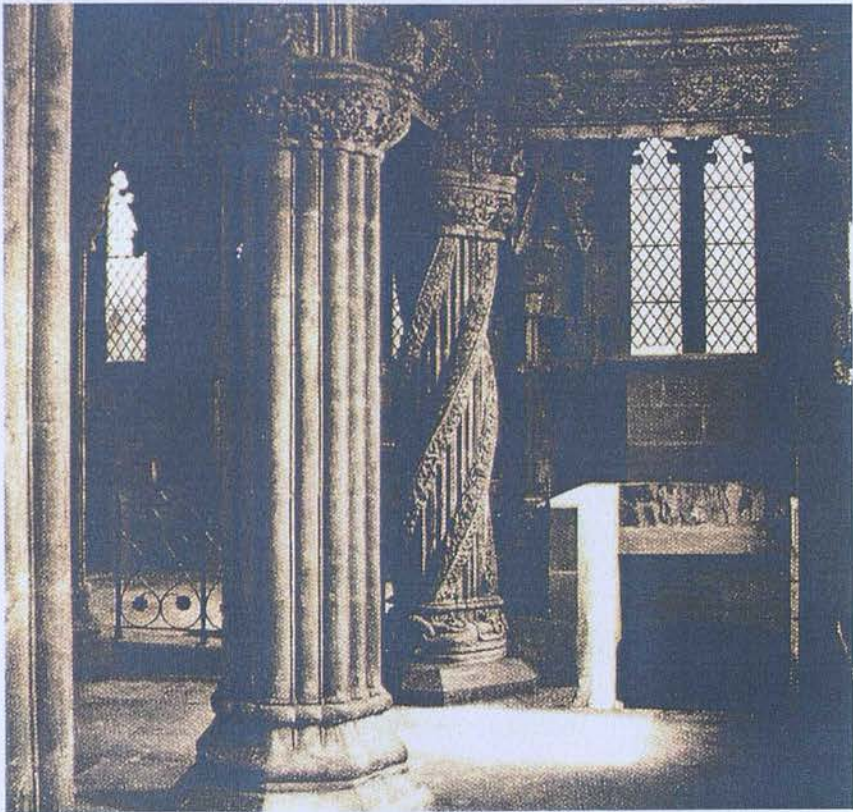
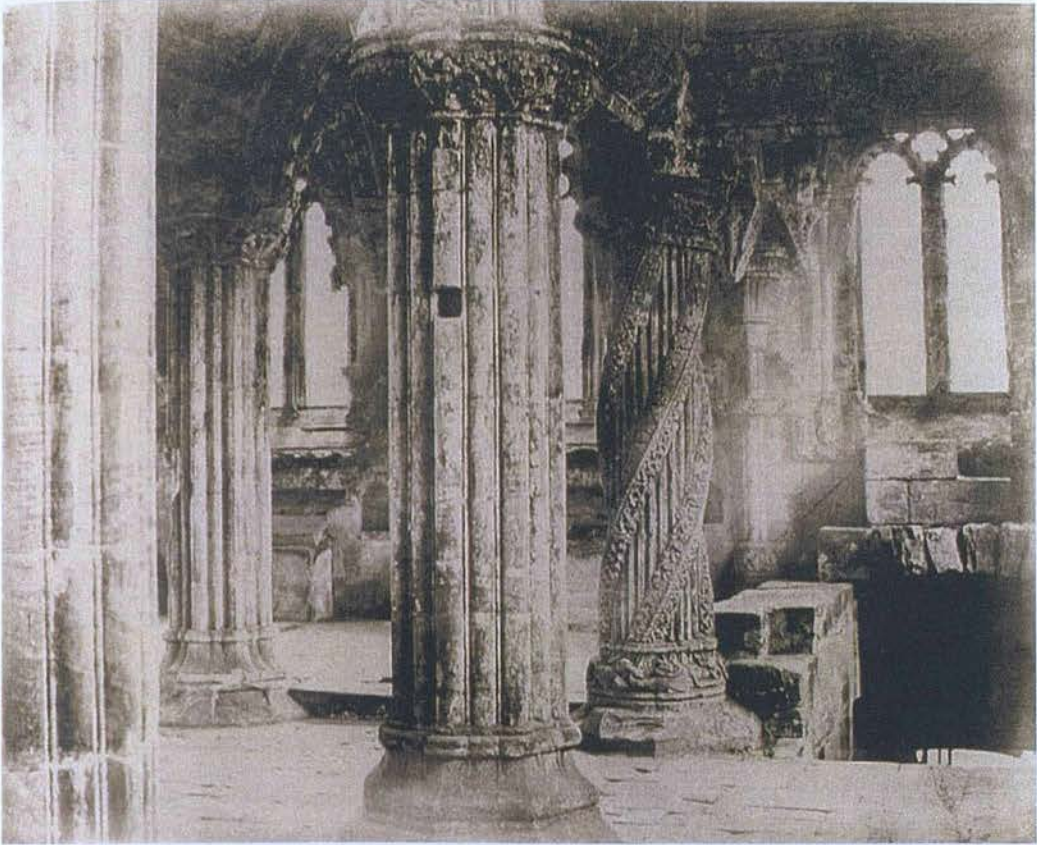
72. Robert William Billings, *Rosslyn Chapel. Head of one of the East Windows.*
Engraving from *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 1845 [cat.84.3].



73. Robert William Billings, *The south side of Rosslyn Chapel*. Engraving from *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 1845 [cat.84.2].
74. George Washington Wilson, *View of the south side*. Albumen print, c.1870. Private Collection [cat.116.5].



75. Edward Cresy, *Three different sections of Rosslyn Chapel*. Engraving from *Treatise on Bridge Building and on Equilibrium of Vaults and Arches*, 1839 [cat.82].
76. John Thompson, *Section through the nave with geometrical figure based upon a circle*. Pen and wash drawing, 1840. From the album *Documents*, Private Collection [cat.38].



78. William Donaldson Clark, *The Apprentice Pillar from the south aisle*. Albumen print, 1860. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh [cat.112.2].

79. George Washington Wilson, *Interior of the Chapel, the Apprentice Pillar*. Albumen print (from a stereoscopic pair), c.1880. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



80. Thomas Vernon Begbie, *View of the Lady Chapel looking south*, c.1861. Contemporary photograph (from a stereoscopic pair) from original glass plate negative, City of Edinburgh Art Centre [detail cat.113.17].

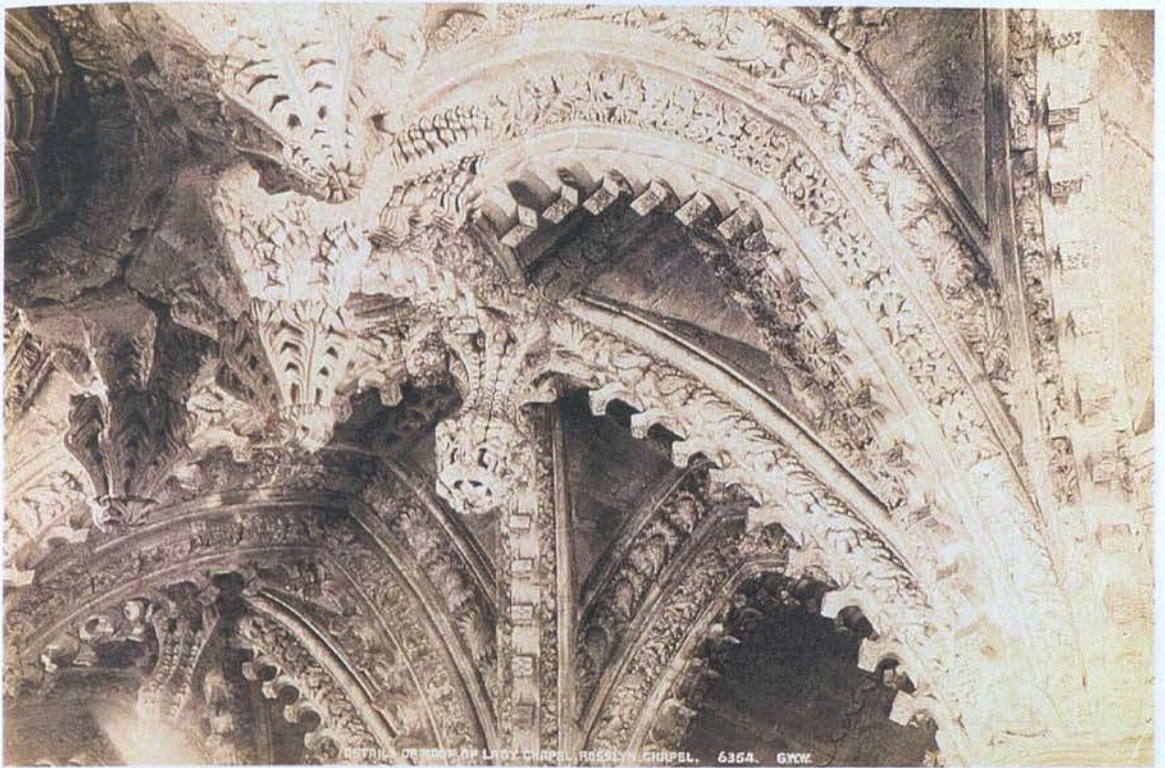


THE MASTERS PILLAR, ROSSLYN CHAPEL. 6353 G.W.W.

81. George Washington Wilson, *View of the three piers in the Lady Chapel*. Albumen print, c.1870. Private Collection [cat.116.6].



82. Photographer unknown, *Sculptor Lawrence Baxter and J. Lawrence Tweedie in the Lady Chapel during the 1860s restoration work*. Contemporary photograph from original albumen print, R.C.A.H.M.S. [cat.114].

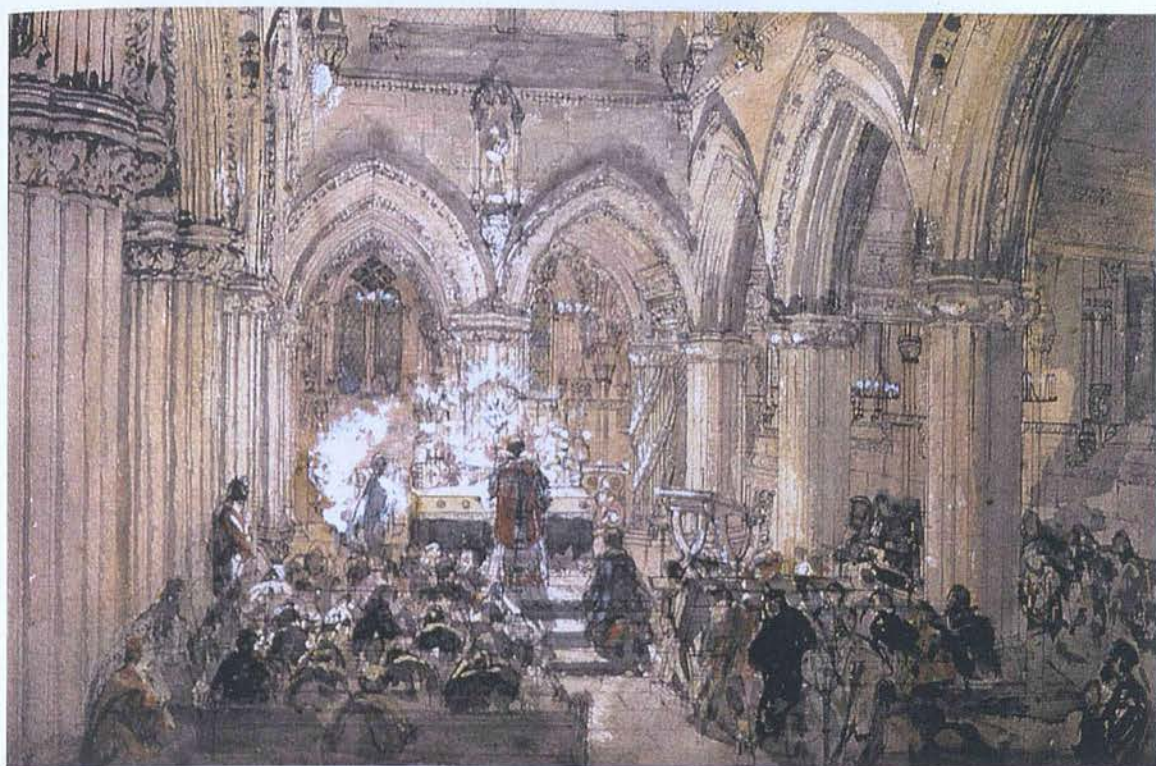


DETAIL OF ROOF OF LADY CHAPEL, ROSLYN CHAPEL. 6364. G.W.W.



ROSLYN CHAPEL, SOUTH AISLE

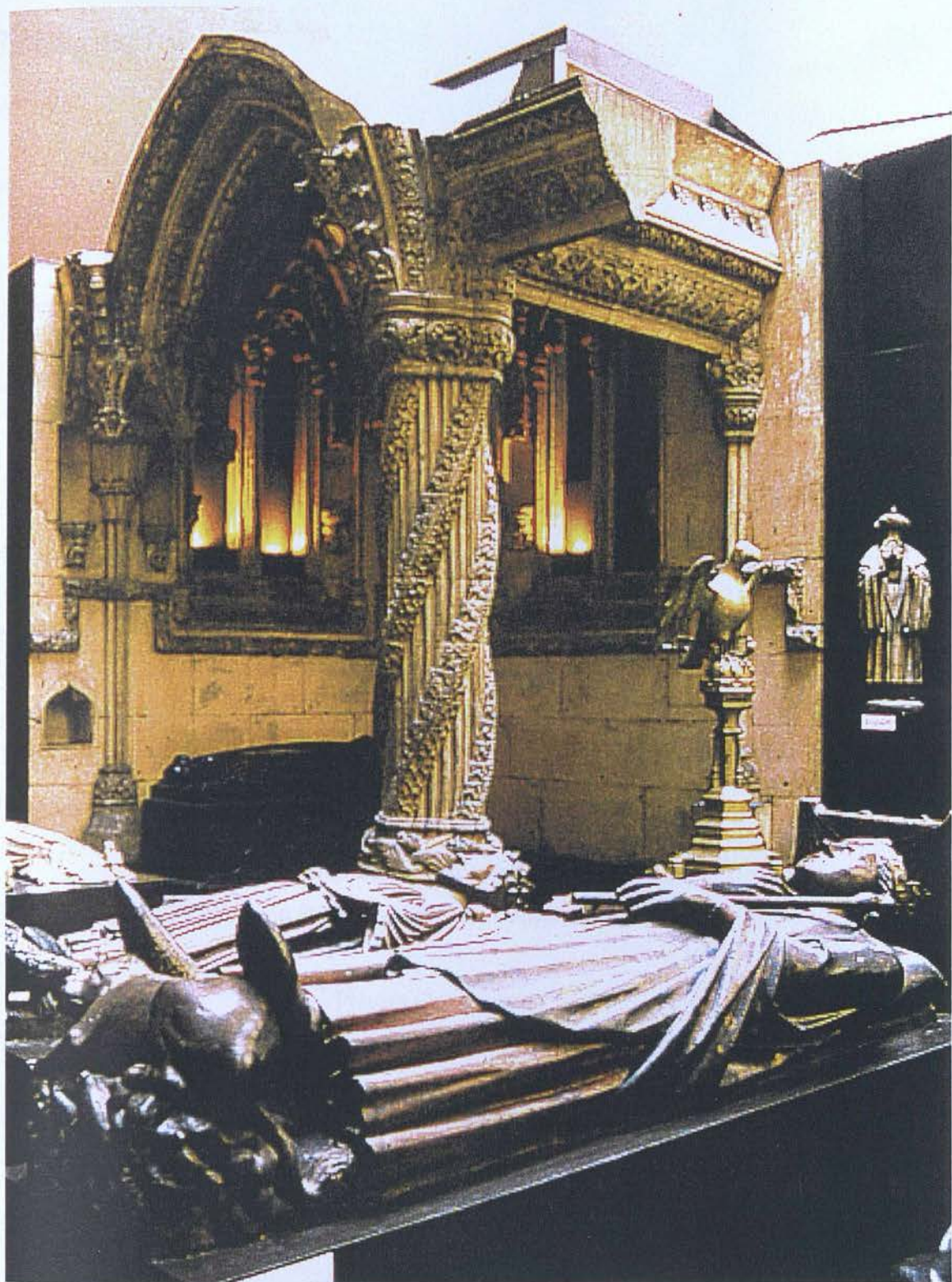
83. George Washington Wilson, *View of the Lady Chapel's ceiling*. Albumen print, c.1870. Private Collection [cat.116.3].
84. James Valentine, *View of the lintels in the south aisle*. Albumen print glued on paper, c.1870. Private Collection [cat.117.1].



85. Samuel Bough, *Midnight mass at Rosslyn Chapel*. Watercolour over pencil, heightened with white, 1862. Rosslyn Family Collection [cat.45].
86. Photographer unknown, *An early religious service at Rosslyn Chapel*. Contemporary photograph from original albumen print, c.1862. Private Collection [cat.115].



87. Thomas Ross, *Aerial perspective view of Rosslyn Chapel from south-east as it might have been when completed*. Watercolour, 1914. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh [cat.48.27].



88. Giovanni Franchi, *Cast of the Apprentice Pillar*, 1871. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

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Rosslyn Chapel:
an Icon through the ages

Volume II

Angelo Maggi

SUBMISSION FOR PH.D.
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Table of contents
Volume II

Catalogue

- p.II *Preface to the catalogue*
III *List of abbreviations*

The Icon through the ages

I. Watercolours, Drawings and Sketches

- 2 Watercolours, drawings and sketches c.1700-1914

II. Paintings

- 73 Oil paintings 1789-1900

III. Engravings

- 80 Copper and steel engravings, etchings and woodcuts 1693-1900

IV. Miscellaneous and late Prints

- 123 Miscellaneous and late prints c.1850-1923

V. Early Photographs

- 128 Calotypes, albumen prints and glass plates 1843-1880

- 161 *Addendum*

Appendix

- 163 Catalogue of the items in the album 'Documents Related to Roslin Chapel'

Preface to the catalogue

In the course of preparing this thesis, it became apparent that, although the visual evidence of Rosslyn Chapel was to be explored in the exhibition in National Gallery of Scotland, many of the records related to the history and the iconography of the building had never been discussed properly and had not been catalogued. At the time this research started there were estimated to be some 100 items. As work proceeded more and more material emerged from private and public collections, so that at the time of completion of the work the full database catalogue amounts to about 400 drawings, watercolours, sketches, engravings and early photographs. For the purpose of this catalogue, the most marginal items have been omitted to make the mass of material more manageable. The Catalogue is arranged as far as possible in chronological order by named architect, designer, engraver or photographer, with unidentified items slotted in at what seemed to be the appropriate points. The result is a sequence which begins in the 1690s and runs more or less to the beginning of the twentieth century, taking in *en route* such luminaries of British art and architectural history such as Joseph Michael Gandy, George Meikle Kemp, Thomas Ross, John Ruskin, David Roberts and the Frenchman Loius-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre.

List of Abbreviations

ABBREVIATED AS	TITLE OF WORK OR INSTITUTION
<i>Bénézit</i>	E.Bénézit, <i>Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs</i> , 14 vols., Paris, 1999.
<i>Bryan</i>	<i>Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers</i> . New edition revised and enlarged under the supervision of G.C.Williamson. 5 vols. London, 1903-4. [And later reprints].
<i>Bushnell</i>	George Herbert Bushnell, <i>Scottish Engravers. A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Engravers and of Engravers who worked in Scotland to the beginning of the nineteenth century</i> , Oxford, 1949.
<i>Butchart</i>	R. Butchart, <i>Prints and Drawings of Edinburgh</i> , Edinburgh, 1955.
<i>Cavers</i>	Keith Cavers, <i>A Vision of Scotland. The Nation observed by John Slezer 1671 to 1717</i> , National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1993.
<i>Colvin</i>	Sir Howard Colvin, <i>A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840</i> , New Haven and London, 1995.
<i>D.N.B.</i>	Lee, Sidney and Stephen, Leslie (eds.), <i>The dictionary of national biography: from the earliest times to 1900</i> , 22 vols., London, 1921-1922. [And later supplements]
<i>E.C.L.</i>	Edinburgh Central Library, Edinburgh.
<i>Engen</i>	Rodney K. Engen, <i>Dictionary of Victorian Engravers, Print Publishers and their Works</i> , Cambridge, 1979.
<i>Grant</i>	Colonel Maurice Harold Grant, <i>A Dictionary of British Etchers</i> , London, 1952.

- Halsby/Harris* Julian Halsby and Paul Harris, *The Dictionary of Scottish Painters 1600 to the present*, Edinburgh, 1990.
- Mallalieu* Huon L.Mallalieu, *The Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920*, Antique Collectors' Club, 1976
- McEwan* Peter J. M. McEwan, *Dictionary of Scottish Art and Architecture*, Antique Collectors Club, 1994.
- N.G.S.* National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- N.L.S.* National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- Patterson/Rock.* . . . David Patterson and Joe Rock, *Thomas Begbie's Edinburgh a Mid-Victorian Portrait*, Edinburgh, 1992.
- R.C.A.H.M.S.* Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- R.I.A.S.* Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland.
- Russell* Ronald Russell, *Guide to British Topographical Prints*, London, 1979.
- S.N.P.G.* Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
- Stevenson* Stevenson, Sara, (ed.), *Light from the Dark Room. A celebration of Scottish photography: a Scottish-Canadian collaboration*, exhib. cat. Royal Scottish Academy July-October 1995, Edinburgh, 1995. [See the catalogue of Scottish photographers, pp.111-124].
- Turner* Jane Turner (ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., London, 1996.
- Wood* Christopher Wood, *Dictionary of Victorian Painters*. Antique Collectors' Club, 1976.

CATALOGUE

The Icon through the ages

WATERCOLOURS, DRAWINGS AND SKETCHES

Watercolours, drawings and sketches c.1700-1914

ANONYMOUS

[1] Drawings in Father Hay's manuscript *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn*, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

The *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn* was compiled about 1700 by Father Richard Augustine Hay (1661-1736), who had access to the Sinclair family papers. His manuscripts, now at the National Library of Scotland, contain four outline ink drawings which are the earliest recorded set of original drawings of Rosslyn Chapel.

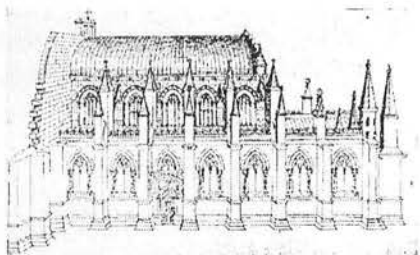
1.1

c.1700

South side view of the Chapel

Pen, 24 x 30cm

Archive reference: Adv.MS.34.1.9 (i), f.131 verso.



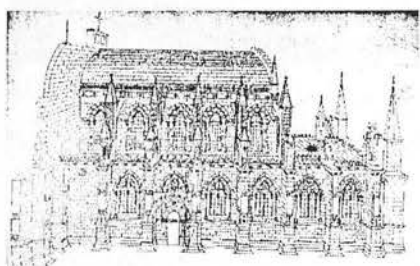
1.2

c.1700

South side view of the Chapel

Pen, 24 x 30cm

Archive reference: Adv.MS.34.1.9 (i), f.132 recto.



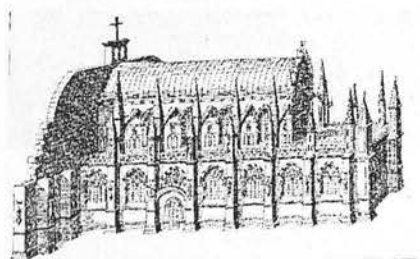
1.3

c.1700

South side view of the Chapel

Pen, 24 x 30cm

Archive reference: Adv.MS.34.1.9 (i), f.290 verso.



1.4

c.1700

West side view of the Chapel

Pen, 24 x 30cm

Archive reference: Adv.MS.34.1.9 (i), f.285 verso.



WILLIAM DELACOUR *d.1767*

Delacour was a portrait and landscape painter. Born probably in France, he worked in London as a theatre stage designer. In the 1740s he published eight *Books of Ornaments* and by 1753 had moved to Dublin. His stay in Ireland was not a great success and by 1757 he had settled in Edinburgh where he remained for the rest of his life. In Scotland he obtained several commissions to embellish houses built by John and Robert Adam. In 1760 he was appointed the first Master of the Trustees' Academy, a post he retained until his death seven years later.

[2] Drawings by Delacour in the British Library, London.

Nine highly finished drawings, providing a complete survey of the Chapel, were bound in a volume of topographical drawings in the collection of King George III.

2.1

1761

Prospect of Roslin Castle and Chapel from the South East

Inscribed as above [sic for north west]
s & d: 'De la cour delin 1761'
Pen, watercolour and pencil,
32.7 x 74.7cm
Archive reference: K.Top. XLIX 79a.



2.2

1761

Prospect of Roslin Castle and Chapel from the North West

Inscribed as above [sic for south east]
s & d: 'De la cour delin 1761'
Pen, watercolour and pencil,
32.7 x 74.7cm
Archive reference: K.Top. XLIX 79b.

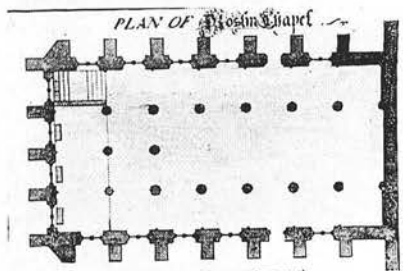


2.3

c.1761

Plan of Roslin Chapel

Inscribed as above
Pen, grey wash and pencil, 34.2 x 49.3cm
Archive reference: K.Top.XLIX 79c.



2.4

c.1761

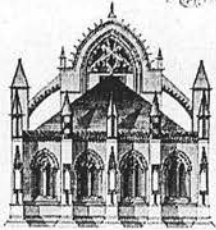
Elevation of the East End of Roslin Chapel

Inscribed as above

Pen, grey wash and pencil, 33.3 x 49.5cm

Archive reference: K.Top.XLIX 79d.

ELEVATION OF THE EAST END OF Roslin Chapel.



2.5

c.1761

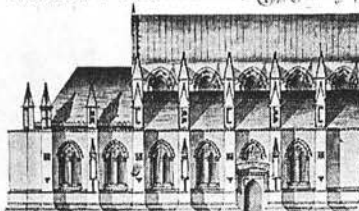
Elevation of the North Side of Roslin Chapel

Inscribed as above

Pen, grey and pink washes and pencil, 33.4 x 50cm

Archive reference: K.Top.XLIX 79e.

ELEVATION OF THE NORTH SIDE OF Roslin Chapel.



2.6

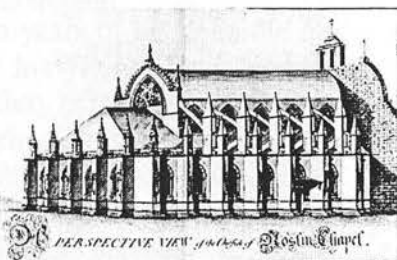
c.1761

Perspective View of the Outside of Roslin Chapel

Inscribed as above

Pen, grey and green washes heightened with white and pencil, 42 x 68.7cm

Archive reference: K.Top.XLIX 79f.



2.7

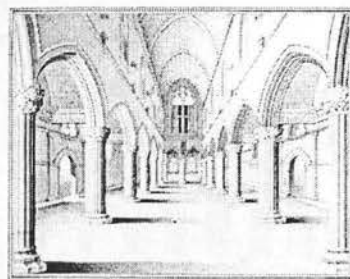
c.1761

Perspective View of the Inside of Roslin Chapel

Inscribed as above

Pen, grey and green washes and pencil, 38 x 48cm

Archive reference: K.Top.XLIX 79g.



2.8

c.1761

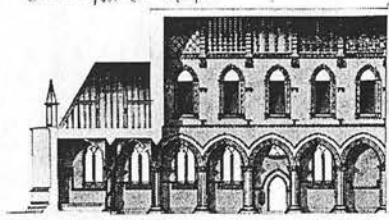
Section of Roslin Chapel from East to West

Inscribed as above

Pen, grey and pink washes and pencil, 33.6 x 55.7cm

Archive reference: K.Top.XLIX 79h.

Section of Roslin Chapel from EAST to WEST.



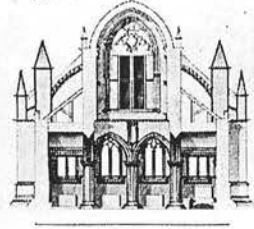
Section of Roslin Chapel from East to West

Inscribed as above

Pen, grey, pink and brown washes and pencil,

33.8 x 50cm

Archive reference: K.Top.XLIX 79i.



ANONYMOUS

[3] Drawings in the Gough Map Collection vol.39, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The British antiquarian Richard Gough (1735-1809) in his earlier tours made many creditable architectural sketches. His last topographical tour was through Cumberland and Scotland in 1771; but till within two years of his death he made at least one annual excursion, often accompanied by his friend John Nichols, the printer. Gough became the director of the London Society of Antiquaries. He was the author of a series of antiquarian guidebooks which reflected his concern with topographical accuracy. This is evident in the large collection of original drawings of Rosslyn Chapel bound in volume 39 of the Gough Map Collection at the Bodleian Library. The drawings range from exterior and interior perspective views to a detailed architectural record of all the niches on the buttresses.

3.1

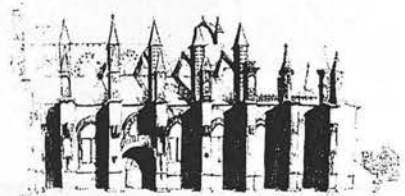
c.1771

South side view of the exterior of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslyn'

Pen, grey washes and pencil, 27.4 x 37.5cm

Volume reference: centre f.13 recto.



3.2

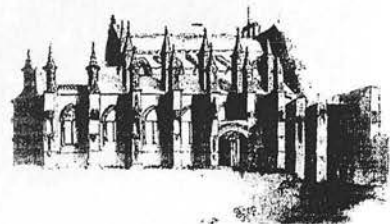
c.1771

North side view of the exterior of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel'

Pen, grey washes and pencil, 27.2 x 38.2cm

Volume reference: top f.13 verso.



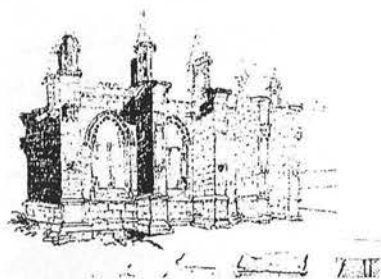
3.3

c.1771

East end exterior view of the Chapel

Pencil, 27 x 37.6cm

Volume reference: bottom f.13 verso.



3.4

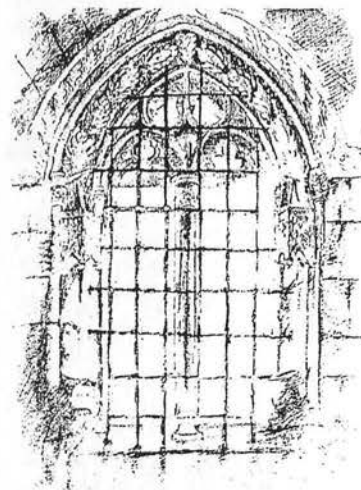
c.1771

Interior view of window tracery on south wall

Pencil, 37 x 27.5cm

Volume reference: top f.14 recto.

[note] Located on 3rd bay from right.



3.5

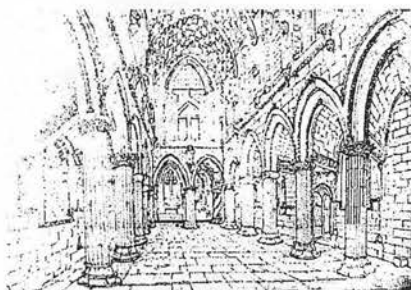
c.1771

Interior view from the nave towards the east end

Inscribed: 'Inside of Roslin Chapel'

Pen and pencil, 27 x 37.5cm

Volume reference: bottom f.14 recto.



3.6

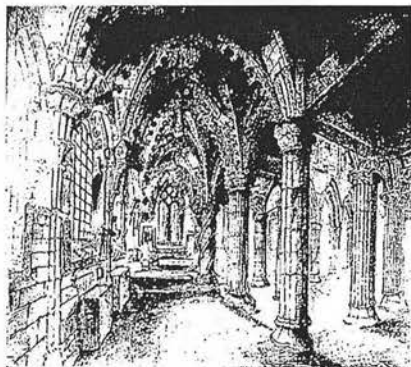
c.1771

View of the Lady Chapel looking south

Inscribed: 'Choir [sic] of Roslin Chapel'

Pen and pencil, 24 x 26.5cm

Volume reference: top left f.14 verso.



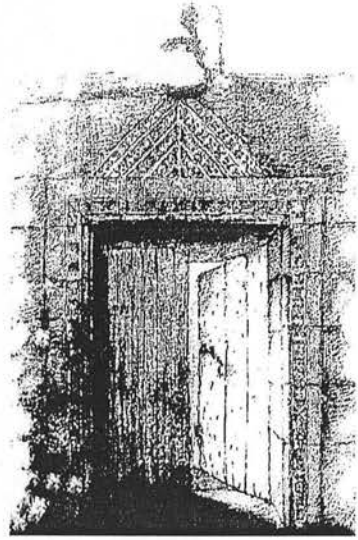
3.7

c.1771

Doorway to the Chapel grounds

Pencil, 37.3 x 25.9cm

Volume reference: bottom f.14 verso.



3.8

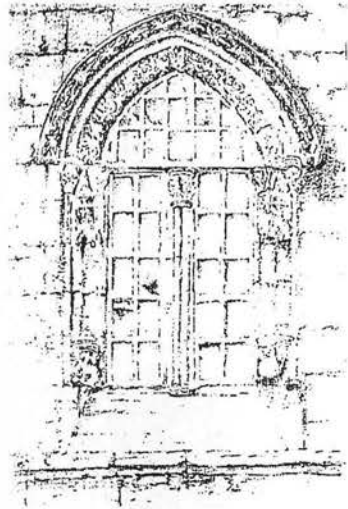
c.1771

External view of window on south wall [same as cat.3.4]

Inscribed: 'Window Roslin Chapel – they are all rich as this'

Pencil, 34.5 x 23.5cm

Volume reference: top f.15 recto.



3.9

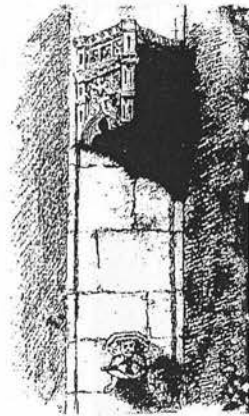
c.1771

Canopied niche on north wall

Pencil, 24.2 x 17.5cm

Volume reference: top f.17 verso.

[note] Located on 2nd buttress from right.



3.10

c.1771

Canopied niche on north wall

Inscribed: '6'

Pencil and sepia wash, 34.6 x 22.4cm

Volume reference: centre f.17 verso.

[note] Located on 3rd buttress from right.



3.11

c.1771

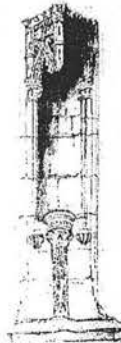
Canopied niche on north wall

Inscribed: 'V I'

Pencil, 34.6 x 22cm

Volume reference: bottom f.17 verso.

[note] Located on 1st buttress from right.



3.12

c.1771

Canopied niche on north wall

Inscribed: '7'

Pencil and sepia wash, 34.7 x 23cm

Volume reference: top f.18 recto.

[note] Located on 4th buttress from right.



3.13

c.1771

Canopied niche on north wall

Inscribed: '8'

Pencil and sepia wash, 34.1 x 22.7cm

Volume reference: bottom f.18 recto.

[note] Located on 5th buttress from right.



3.14

c.1771

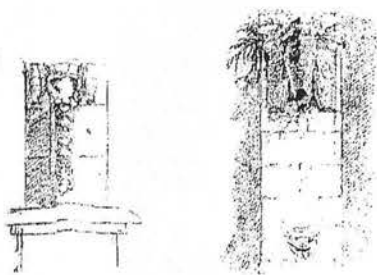
Corbel on north wall and canopied niche on north-west wall

Inscribed: '3-3'

Pencil, 24 x 34.7cm

Volume reference: top f.18 verso.

[note] Located on lower part of 5th buttress from right and north west corner buttress.



3.15

c.1771

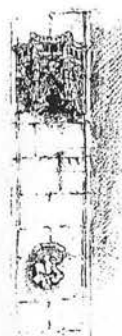
Canopied niche on north wall

Inscribed: '9'

Pencil and sepia wash, 34.3 x 22.5cm

Volume reference: bottom p.18 verso.

[note] Located on 6th buttress from right.



3.16

c.1771

Canopied niche on north wall

Inscribed: '10'

Pencil and sepia wash, 34.5 x 24cm

Volume reference: top f.19 recto.

[note] Located on 7th buttress from right.



3.17

c.1771

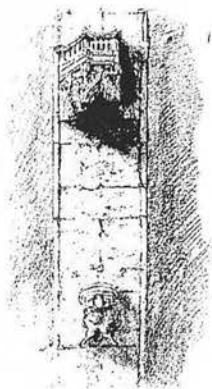
Canopied niche on east end wall

Inscribed: '11'

Pencil, 34.5 x 22.3cm

Volume reference: bottom f.19 recto.

[note] Located on 1st buttress from right.



3.18

c.1771

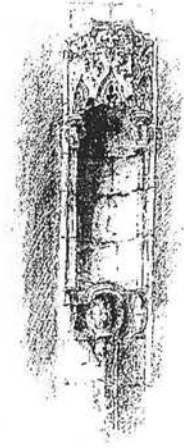
Canopied niche on east end wall

Inscribed: '12'

Pencil, 34.7 x 23.6cm

Volume reference: top f.19 verso.

[note] Located on 2nd buttress from right.



3.19

c.1771

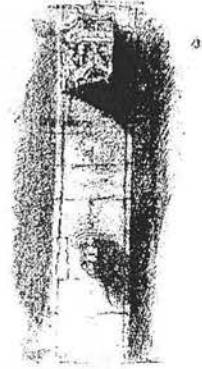
Canopied niche on east end wall

Inscribed: '13'

Pencil, 34.5 x 24.2cm

Volume reference: bottom f.19 verso.

[note] Located on central buttress.



3.20

c.1771

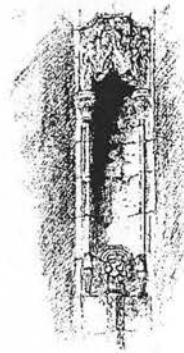
Canopied niche on east end wall

Inscribed: '14'

Pencil, 34.4 x 24cm

Volume reference: top f.20 recto.

[note] Located on 4th buttress from right.



3.21

c.1771

Canopied niche on south wall

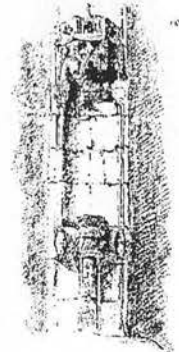
Inscribed: '15'

Pencil, 34.4 x 24.2cm

Volume reference: bottom f.20 recto.

[note] Located on 1st buttress from right.

Cat.3.22 is also inscribed '15'



3.22

c.1771

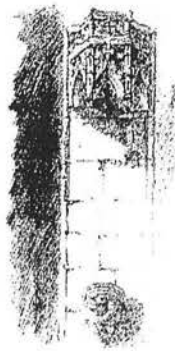
Canopied niche on east end wall

Inscribed: '15'

Pencil, 27.9 x 18.8cm

Volume reference: top f.20 verso.

[note] Located on 5th buttress from right.
Cat.3.21 is also inscribed '15'.



3.23

c.1771

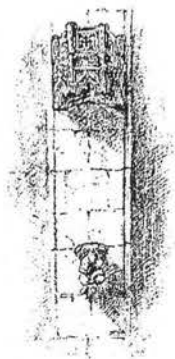
Canopied niche on south wall

Inscribed: '16'

Pencil, 34.9 x 22.8cm

Volume reference: centre f.20 verso.

[note] Located on 2nd buttress from right.



3.24

c.1771

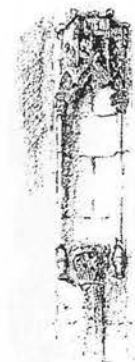
Canopied niche on south wall

Inscribed: '18'

Pencil, 34.7 x 24.2cm

Volume reference: top f.21 recto.

[note] Located on 3rd buttress from right.



3.25

c.1771

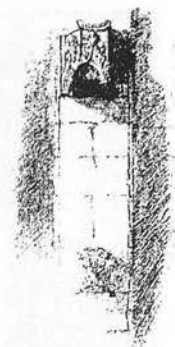
Canopied niche on south wall

Inscribed: '19'

Pencil, 34.2 x 23.8cm

Volume reference: bottom f.21 recto.

[note] Located on 4th buttress from right.



3.26

c.1771

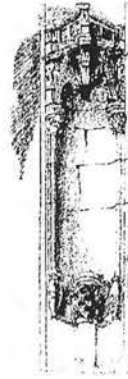
Canopied niche on south wall

Inscribed: '20'

Pencil, 34.8 x 24cm

Volume reference: top f.21 verso.

[note] Located on 5th from right.



3.27

c.1771

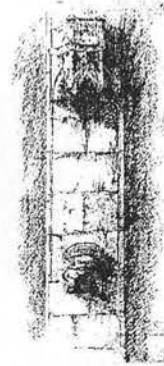
Canopied niche on south wall

Inscribed: '21'

Pencil, 34.8 x 24cm

Volume reference: bottom f.21 verso.

[note] Located on 6th buttress from right.



3.28

c.1771

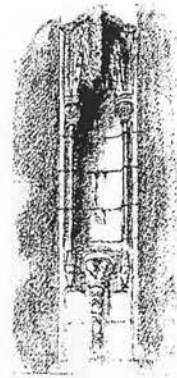
Canopied niche on south wall

Inscribed: '22'

Pencil, 35 x 24.5cm

Volume reference: top f.22 recto.

[note] Located on 7th buttress from right.



3.29

c.1771

Canopied niche on south-west wall

Inscribed: '23'

Pencil, 27.6 x 18.8cm

Volume reference: bottom f.22 recto.

[note] Located on south-west corner buttress.



3.30

c.1771

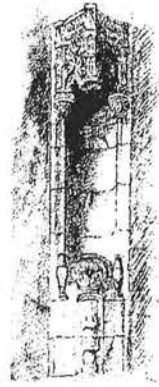
Canopied niche on south-west wall

Inscribed: '24'

Pencil, 37.8 x 28cm

Volume reference: top f.22 verso.

[note] Located on 2nd buttress from right.



3.31

c.1771

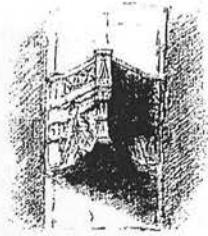
Upper part of a canopied niche on south-west wall

Inscribed: '25'

Pencil, 34.8 x 24cm

Volume reference: bottom f.22 verso.

[note] Located on end buttress.



3.32

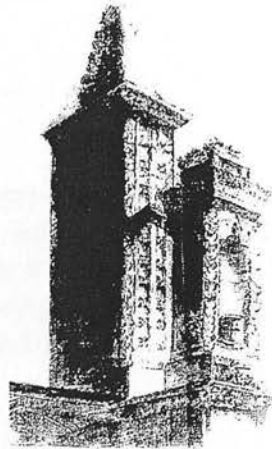
c.1771

Pinnacles on south wall buttresses

Pencil, 38.2 x 28.2cm

Volume reference: top f.23 recto.

[note] Located on 3rd buttress from right.



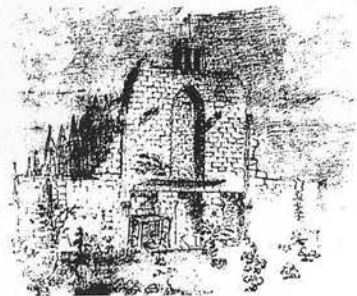
3.33

c.1771

View of the west wall

Pencil, 25.7 x 37cm

Volume reference: centre p.62 verso.



HUGH WILLIAM 'GRECIAN' WILLIAMS 1773-1829

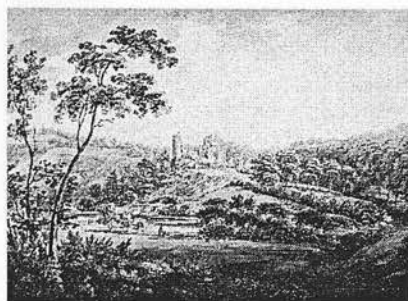
H.W.Williams was born at sea, his father was a Welsh sea captain and his mother was the daughter of the Deputy Governor of Gibraltar. He lost both his parents when young and was brought up by his grandmother in Edinburgh. In 1816 Williams set off on a Grand Tour through Italy to Greece, returning to Scotland in 1818. A successful exhibition of his Greek watercolours was held in Edinburgh in 1822 following which he became known as 'Grecian' Williams. He painted many watercolours of Scottish scenery on the spot for smaller watercolours, although his larger, more finished watercolours would have been painted in the studio. His view of Rosslyn Chapel and Castle is taken from the same viewpoint as the Alexander Nasmyth oil painting [see cat.50] (see *Joe Rock, Ph.D.*)

4

1795

Rosslyn Castle and Chapel

Watercolour, 62.3 x 45.2cm
Private Collection [Lansberry].



JOSEPH FARINGTON 1747-1821

A landscape painter who came to London in 1763 and spent several years working under Richard Wilson (1713c.-1782). Farington was a member of the Society of Artists from 1768 to 1773 and entered the Royal Academy in 1769. Farington toured Scotland in 1788 and again in 1792 with the object of issuing a set of large engraved views, a project which was never completed. (see *Bryan and Turner*)

5

1789

Roslin Castle and Chapel

Inscribed: 'Colours bleached red and deep red – rock the same – parts most broken red. Chapel silver grey and mossy south east view Roslin Castle and Chapel July 24 1789'

Pen, pencil and wash, 32.2 x 55.6cm
National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh,
Ref. D 5023.18.



PATRICK GIBSON 1782-1829

Born in Edinburgh, Gibson studied with Alexander Nasmyth in York Place and later at the Trustees' Academy. He lived in London between 1805-1809, returning to Edinburgh where he became a watercolourist of some success and a writer on art matters. His view of the Chapel 'from foot of the elevation on which stands' was published in the *The Beauties of Scotland* in 1806 [cat.66]. This watercolour has only recently been attributed to Gibson. (see *Halsby/Harris*)

6

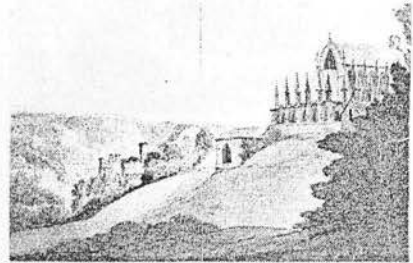
c.1800

Roslin Castle and Chapel

Inscribed on verso: 'This view of the Chapel and the Castle of Roslin Sketched on the spot Sept 99'; on recto: 'from North East'

Pen, grey wash and watercolour over pencil on paper, 37 x 56.5cm

National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, Ref. D 40.



GEORGE HENRY HUTTON d. 1827

Lieutenant Hutton had as his hobby an intense interest in Scottish archaeology. His ambition was to produce a complete listing of the medieval churches in Scotland with special attention given to their physical aspects. He visited many sites of ecclesiastical buildings, sketching and measuring and, when he was away on a military campaign, a series of Scottish correspondents wrote and drew on his behalf. The work itself was never completed, but there remain over two hundred drawings, which were probably seen as compiling a 'Monasticon Scotiae'. (see *D.N.B.*)

[7] Drawings by Hutton in National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

These pencil sketches are the only drawings of the Chapel to have survived from Hutton's collection. They represent his antiquarian interest in the Chapel in the early nineteenth century. The first one is dated 24 October 1800, while the second drawing was produced 'on the spot' two years later.

Burial stone of William St Clair

Inscribed: 'said to be Monument of Sir William Sinclair
in the Col. Church of Roslin, 24 Oct.^{br} 1800'

Pencil, 20.2 x 16cm

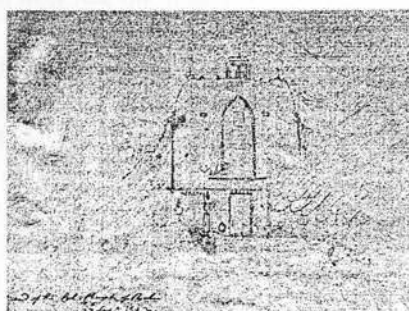
Archive reference: Adv.Ms 30.5.23 – 86b.

*West end of the Chapel*

Inscribed: 'West end of the Col. Church of Roslin, 27
Sept. 1802'

Pencil, 27.5 x 37.4cm

Archive reference: Adv.Ms 30.5.23 – 86a.



JOSEPH MICHAEL GANDY 1771-1843

Better remembered as a painter of architectural fantasies, Gandy was employed for a substantial part of his professional life as a draughtsman in the office of Sir John Soane. He entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1789 and travelled in Italy from 1794-97, where he won a medal from the Academy of St Luke in Rome. He practised architecture for a short time and published two volumes of design for cottages in 1805: *The Rural architect* and *Designs for cottages, cottage farms, and other rural buildings*. (see *Colvin*)

[8] Gandy Sketchbook, Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

This sketchbook, which was acquired by Sir John Soane's Museum in July 1999, is one of the very few known to have survived by Gandy. The book itself has 31 on leaves, including end papers, with drawings in pencil and ink on each recto and most versos in a precise manner. Nearly every sheet is inscribed and several are dated September 1806. The drawings in the book follow an order which relates to journeys Gandy evidently made in 1806 when he made extensive recording of Rosslyn Chapel and Castle in some eighteen sketchbook pages. (see *Goodall & Richardson*)

8.1

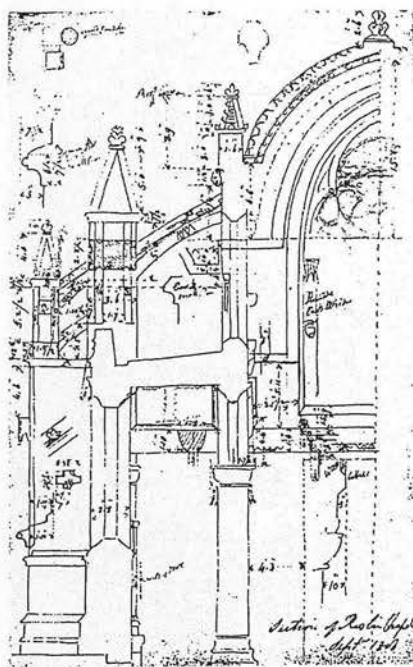
1806

Section through the north aisle and central nave

Inscribed: 'Section of Roslin Chapel, Sept 1806'

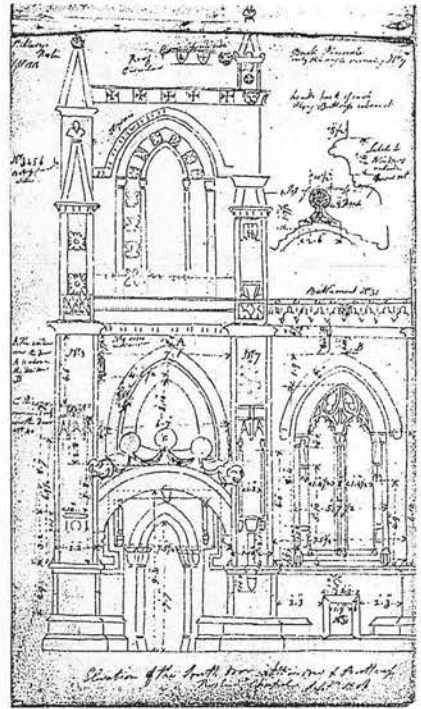
Pen and pencil, 22.5 x 14cm

Sketchbook reference, f.20 recto.



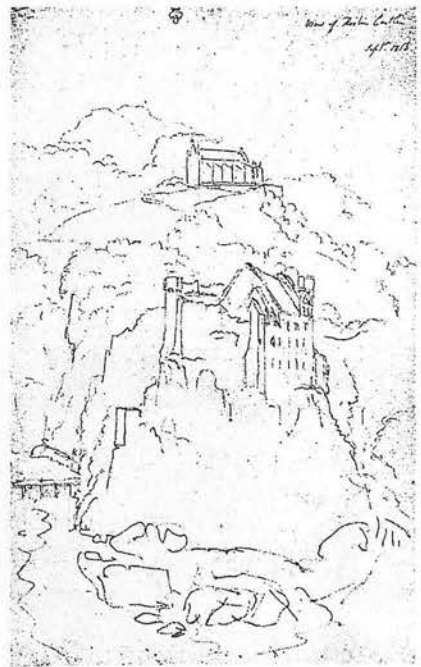
Elevation of a portion of the south side

Inscribed: 'Elevation of the South Door with Window and Buttress Roslin Chapel, Sept 1806 - This one remain at North Door' and other survey notes
Pen and pencil, 22.5x 14cm
Sketchbook reference, f.20 verso.



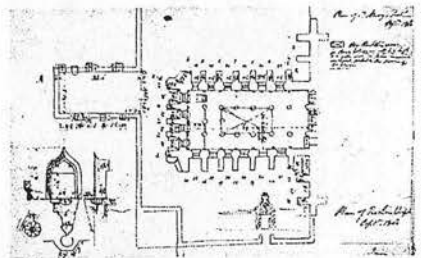
Landscape sketch of Roslin Castle and Chapel

Inscribed: 'View of Roslin Castle, Sept 1806'
Pencil, 22.5 x 14cm
Sketchbook reference, f.21 recto.



Plan of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Plan of Roslin Chapel, Sept 1806 - Plan of St Mary, Roslin Sept 1806'
Pen and pencil, 14 x 22.5cm
Sketchbook reference, f.21 verso.



8.5

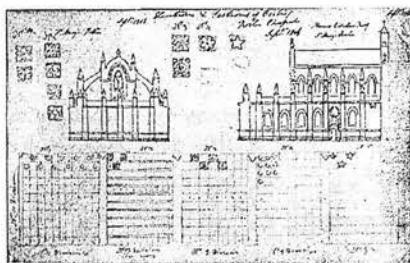
1806

Ceiling partitions, east and north elevations

Inscribed: 'Elevations & Sections of Ceiling, Roslin Chapel, Sept 1806'

Pen and pencil, 14 x 22.5cm

Sketchbook reference, f.22 recto.



8.6

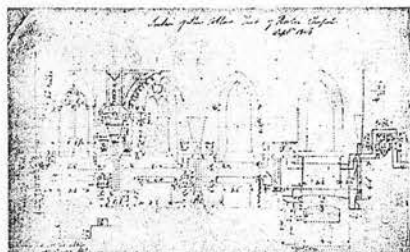
1806

Elevation of the east end wall from the inside

Inscribed: 'Section of the Altar End of Roslin Chapel, Sept. 1806'

Pencil, 14 x 22.5cm

Sketchbook reference, f.22 verso.



8.7

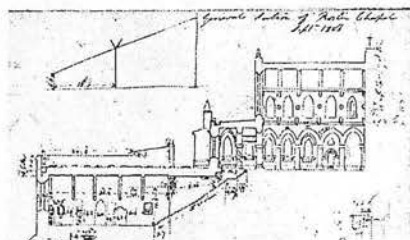
1806

East to west section through the Chapel and the Crypt

Inscribed: 'General Section of Roslin Chapel, Sept 1806'

Pen and pencil, 14 x 22.5cm

Sketchbook reference, f.23 recto.



8.8

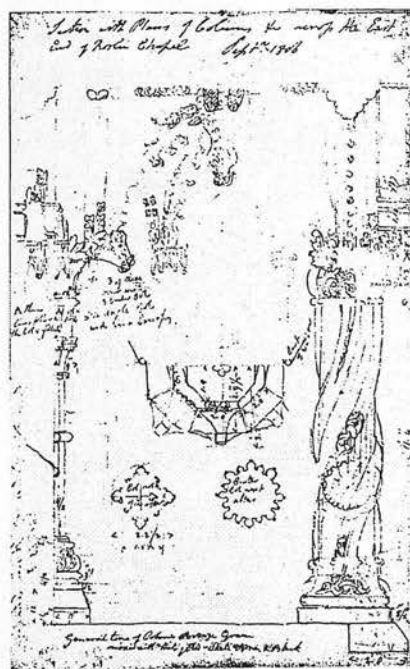
1806

Sketch of the Apprentice Pillar and sections of the other two columns in the Lady Chapel

Inscribed: 'Section with Plans of Columns &c. across the East End of Roslin Chapel, Sept 1806 – General tone of Colour Bronze Green mixed with tints filled with Brown & Black' and survey notes

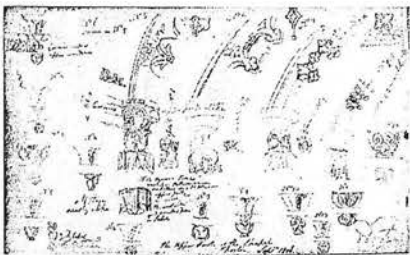
Pen and pencil, 22.5 x 14cm

Sketchbook reference, f.23 verso.



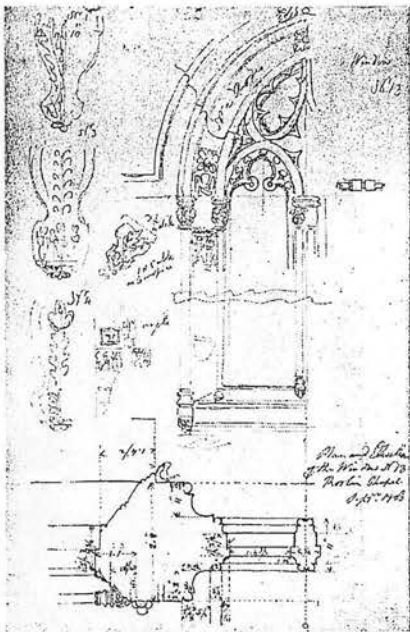
Details of the foliated arches and corbels

Inscribed: 'The upper parts of the Chapel, Roslin, Sept 1806'
Pen and pencil, 14 x 22.5cm
Sketchbook reference, f.24 verso.



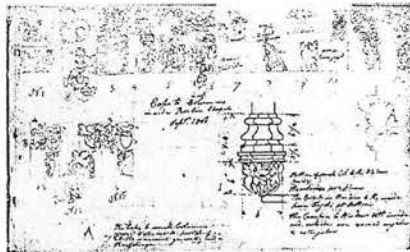
Plan and elevation of a window, boss details of the Lady Chapel

Inscribed: 'Plan and Elevation of the Window N.13 Roslin Chapel, Sept 1806'
Pen and pencil, 22.5 x 14cm
Sketchbook reference, f.24 recto.



Cap[ital]s to Columns inside the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Caps to Columns inside Roslin Chapel, Sept 1806 – The Caps to small Columns against Walls inside [ill.] of all the ornaments generally used in the foliage – Bottom of small Col to the Windows inside / The outsides are plain The Corbels in Windows to the inside have Angels at Bottom / The Canopies to Windows both inside and outside are varied angular and octangular'
Pen and pencil, 14 x 22.5cm
Sketchbook reference, f.25 recto.



8.12

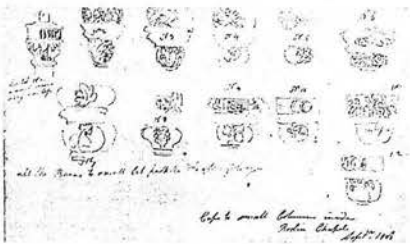
1806

Cap[ital]s to small Columns inside the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Caps to small Columns inside Roslin Chapel
Sept 1806 – all the Bases to small Col [ill.] the other
foliage'

Pen and pencil, 14 x 22.5cm

Sketchbook reference, f.25 verso.



8.13

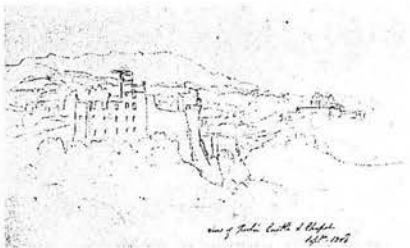
1806

View of the Castle and Chapel from south east

Inscribed: 'View of Roslin Castle and Chapel, Sept
1806'

Pen and pencil, 14 x 22.5cm

Sketchbook reference, f.26 recto.



8.14

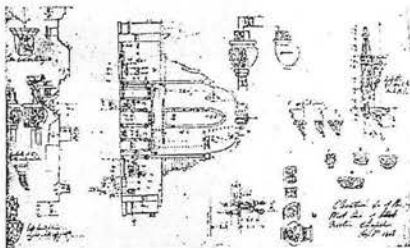
1806

*West end elevation and architectural details from
the exterior*

Inscribed: 'Elevation &c. of the West End of Roslin
Chapel, Sept. 1806'

Pen and pencil, 14 x 22.5cm

Sketchbook reference, f.26 verso.



8.14 bis

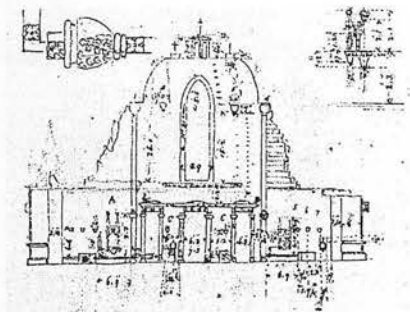
1806

Elevation of the west end [detail]

Inscribed: 'Elevation of the West End of Roslin Chapel,
Sept. 1806'

Pen and pencil, approx. 10 x 14cm

Sketchbook reference, detail f.26 verso.



South view of Roslin Castle and Chapel

Inscribed: 'View of Roslin Castle and Chapel, Sept 1806'

Pencil, 14 x 22.5cm

Sketchbook reference, f.18 recto.

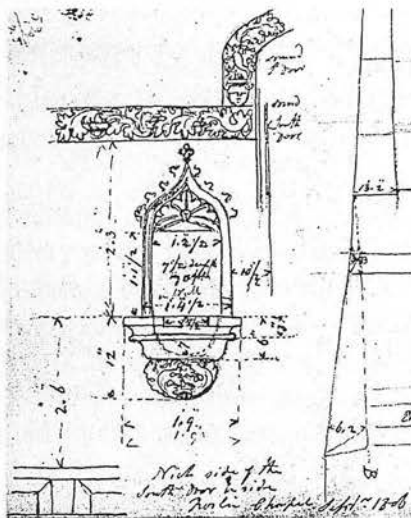


Piscina near the South door inside the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Niche side of the South door inside Roslin Chapel, Sept 1806'

Pen and pencil, approx 5 x 12cm

Sketchbook reference, detail f.19 recto [detail].

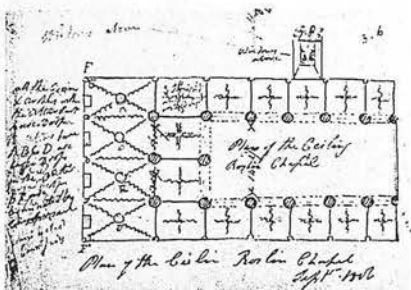


Plan of the Chapel's ceiling

Inscribed: 'Plan of the Ceiling of Roslin Chapel, Sept 1806'

Pencil, 12 x 18cm

Sketchbook reference, detail f.19 recto [detail].



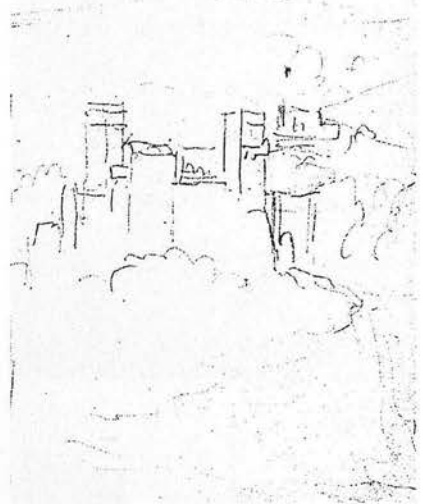
view of Roslin Castle & Chapel
Sept^r 1806

View of Roslin Castle and Chapel

Inscribed: 'View of Roslin Castle and Chapel, Sept. 1806'

Pencil, 12.5 x 22.5cm

Sketchbook reference, f.4 verso.



[9] Drawings in the album 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel' by Gandy, Private collection [Taylor], Edinburgh.

An album entitled 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel', which came to light during research for the exhibition at the National Gallery in the spring of 2002, is a collection of papers related to the Scottish Collegiate Church collated by the architectural publisher and antiquarian John Britton (q.v.). Many pages in the volume refer to Gandy's publication of the plates of the Chapel for Britton's *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* in 1812. Seven unknown preparatory drawings and sketches by Gandy have been identified in this album in a Scottish private collection [Mrs Taylor].

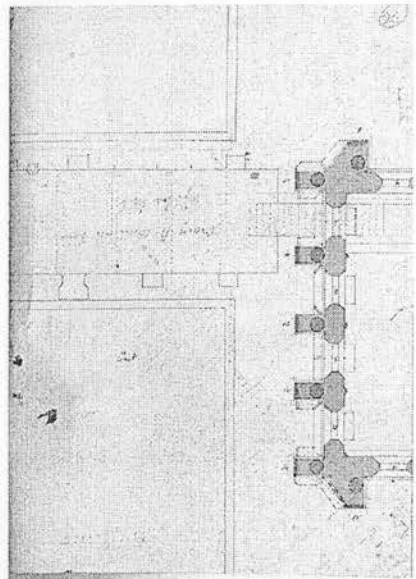
Plan of Roslin Chapel [part I]

Preparatory drawing, scale 1:7 approx., numbered as 33, cut for binding.

Pen and grey wash, 30 x 22.5cm

Album reference: f.28i.

[q.v. catalogue n. 68.1]



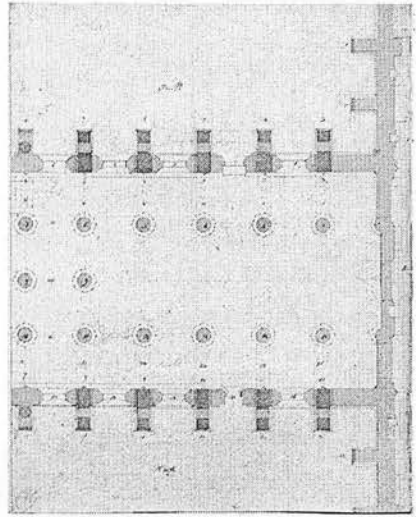
9.2

c.1810

Plan of Roslin Chapel [part II]

Preparatory drawing scale 1:7 approx, cut for binding
 Pen and grey wash, 28.3 x 20.8cm
 Album reference: f.28ii.

[q.v. catalogue n. 68.1]

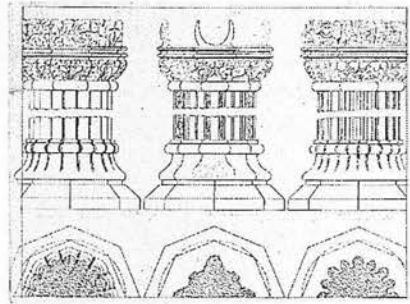


9.3

c.1810

Elevation and sections of cluster shafted piers at the east end

Pen and pencil, 16.5 x 21.5cm
 Album reference: top f.36.

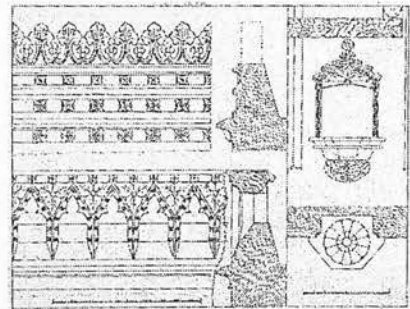


9.4

c.1810

South wall cresting and moulding sections; plan and elevation of piscina in the south aisle

Pen and pencil, 16.5 x 21.5cm
 Album reference: bottom f.36.

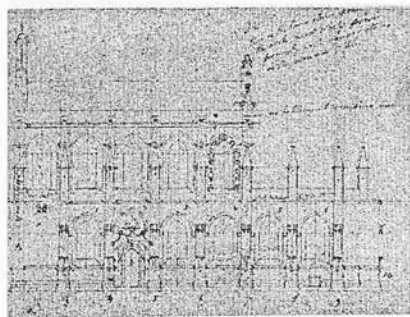


9.5

c.1810

Elevation of the south side of Roslin Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel by Gandy' and additional notes for the engraver of the plate
 Pencil, 15.7 x 20cm
 Album reference: f.37.

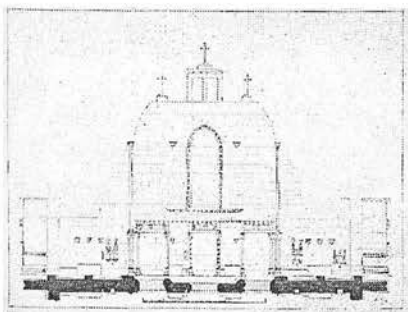


9.6

c.1810

Elevation of the West end of Roslin Chapel

Drawing about 1:12 scale
 Pen and pencil, 16.5 x 21.5cm
 Album reference: f.34.



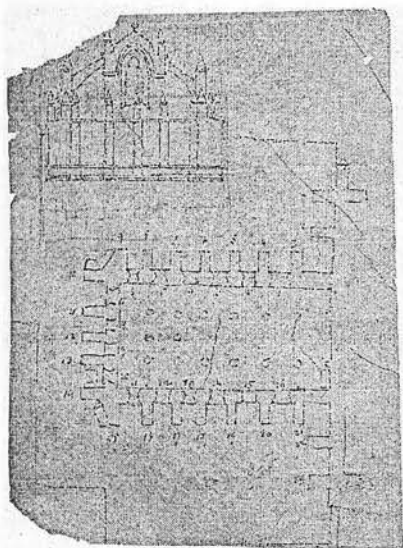
9.7

c.1810

Plan and east end elevation traced from Gandy's sketchbook

Pen on browned tracing paper,
 approx. 16.5 x 12 cm
 Album reference: f.33.

[q.v. catalogue n. 7.4 and 7.5]

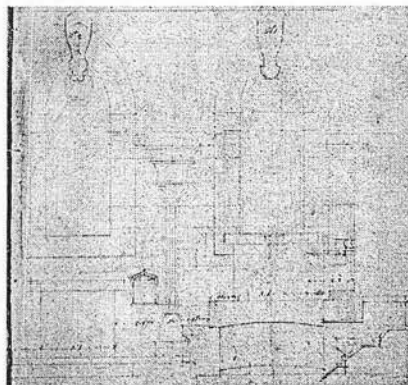


9.8

c.1810

Elevation of the interior of the east wall [part I]

Survey drawing about 1/2 in scale, cut for binding
 Pencil, 31 x 24cm
 Album reference: f.27.

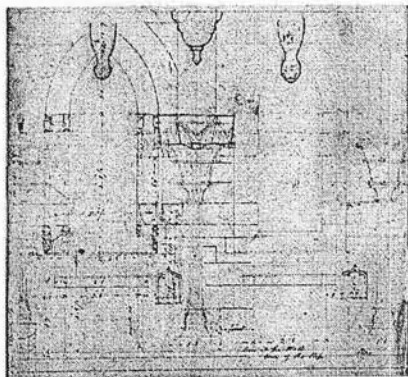


9.9

c.1810

Elevation of the interior of the east wall [part II]

Survey drawing about 1/2 in scale, cut for binding
 Pencil, 31 x 24cm
 Album reference: f.31.

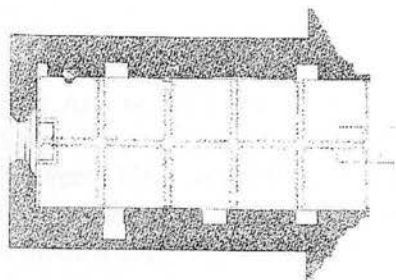


9.10

c.1810

Plan of the Crypt

Drawing about $\frac{1}{4}$ in scale, cut for binding
Pen and grey wash, 30 x 23.5cm
Album reference: f.30.

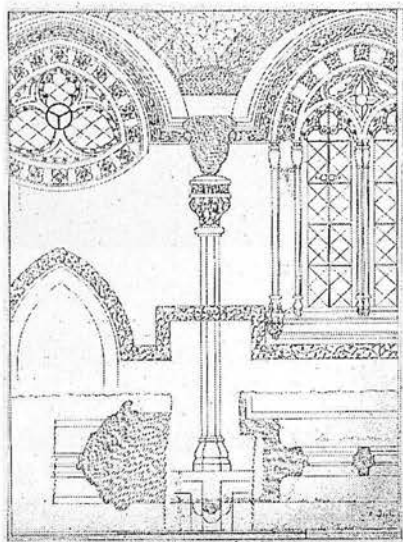


9.11

c.1810

Plan and elevation of trefoil window over north door

About $\frac{1}{2}$ in scale
Pen and pencil, 20.5 x 15.2cm
Album reference: f.20.

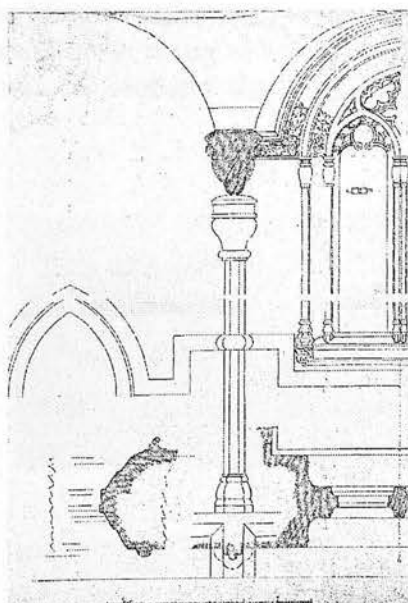


9.12 – 12 bis

c.1810

Plan and elevation of trefoil window over North door, part I-II

Two drawings cut for binding about $\frac{1}{2}$ in scale
Pen and pencil, 30 x 23.2cm and 30.5 x 21.9cm
Album reference: ff.28i, 28ii.



GEORGE SHEPHERD fl.1800-1830

George Shepherd won the silver palette of the Society of Arts in 1803 and 1804, and is best known for his topographical and architectural drawings of London. He drew for John Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales* between 1801 and 1805. In the summer of 1809 Gandy exhibited a large watercolour, at the Royal Academy of London, depicting Rosslyn Chapel of which Shepherd made a copy the same year.

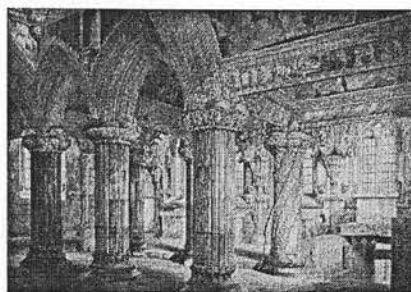
10

1809

View of the east end from the south aisle showing the Apprentice Pillar and the entrance to the crypt

Watercolour, 44.4 x 63.8cm

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Ref. 3031-1876.



FRANCIS NICOLSON 1753-1844

A landscape painter and a drawing master who for the first thirty years of his life lived in a number of Yorkshire towns. In 1789 he first exhibited at the Royal Academy and began to draw for Walker's *Copper Plate Magazine*. Between 1792 and 1803, when settled in London, Nicolson continued to move about Yorkshire and made a visit to the Island of Bute with his patron the Marquess of Bute. They toured the other islands and lochs of the Clyde, and Nicolson made many sketches which provided him with subjects for some years. He was in Scotland again in 1812, touring the Lowlands. (see *Mallalieu* and *Turner*)

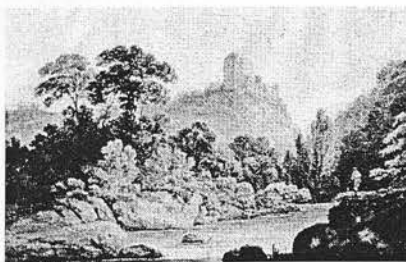
11

c.1812

Rosslyn Castle and Chapel

Watercolour, 29.8 x 44.7cm

Private Collection [Rosslyn].



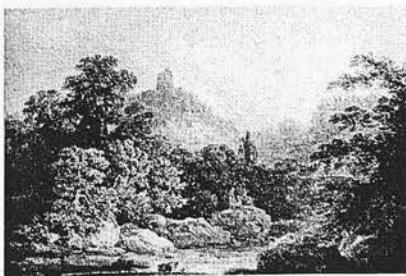
12

c.1812

Rosslyn Castle and Chapel

Watercolour, 31.6 x 47.6cm

Private Collection [Rosslyn].



WILLIAM DUNN *fl.* 1816

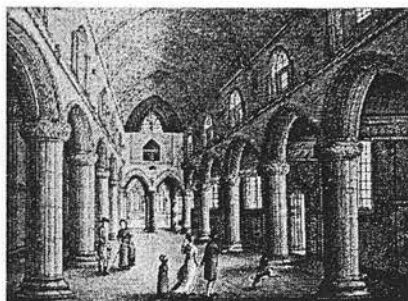
Little is known about this amateur artist whose view shows clearly how the interior of the Chapel was affected by the roof added by John Baxter in the early 18th century. The window at the east end and the clerestory windows were then covered for almost half their height with bricks. The scale of the interior is determined by the legendary keeper of the Chapel, Annie Wilson, and a few visitors wandering in the nave of the Church with their dog.

13

1816

Inside view of the Chapel at Roslin

Inscribed as above and dated '1816'
Watercolour, 16 x 20.5cm
Edinburgh Central Library, Ref. 2723.



JOHN GLOVER 1767–1849

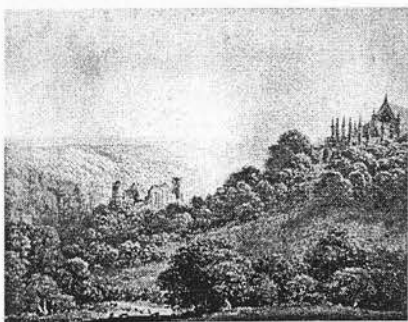
Born at Houghton-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, Glover was a pupil of John 'Warwick' Smith (1749-1831) and William Payne (c.1760-c.1830). From 1794 he taught at Lichfield, Staffordshire. He Exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1795, was a founder-member of the Old Watercolour Society, its President in 1813, and in 1824 helped to found the Society of British Artists. He emigrated to Tasmania in 1831. His method of work was always the same, he damped the paper to achieve a soft effect and used a few basic colours. His hallmark is an individual use of the split-brush technique. (see *Bryan*)

14

c.1825

Roslin Chapel and Castle

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel and Castle near Edinburg'
Watercolour, 11.7 x 15cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Ref. 62-1894.



[15] Sketchbook by Glover of his 1825 Scotch Tour, Private Collection [Fleming], London.

Glover toured in Scotland from 30 August to 27 October 1825 and made more than 150 sketches. Although the artist was mainly interested in the scenery surrounding the Chapel and the Castle, he made four sketches in which the Chapel is represented, one of which is an interior view from the south aisle. He was to reuse these drawings for his later oils in which the pictorial composition is concentrated on the picturesque effect of the Castle and the river Esk.

15.1

1825

Roslin Castle and Chapel from the River

Inscribed as above

Pen, pencil and grey wash, 23 x 30cm

Sketchbook reference: f.14 verso.



15.2

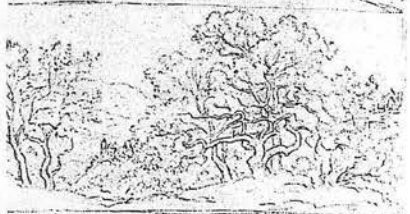
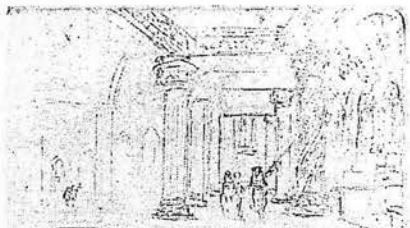
1825

Three different sketches of Roslin Castle and Chapel:

- *Interior view of the Chapel [above]*
- *Picturesque view of Castle and Chapel from east [centre and bottom]*

Pen, pencil and grey wash, 30 x 23cm

Sketchbook reference: f.10 verso.



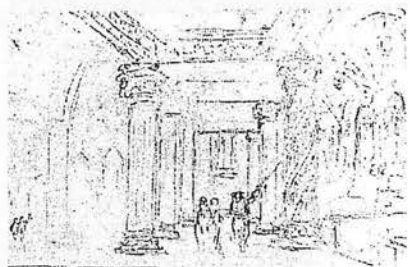
15.2 bis

1825

Interior view of the east end from the south aisle looking towards north [detail]

Pen, pencil and grey wash, 10 x 23cm

Sketchbook reference: f.10 verso [detail].



15.3

1825

Roslin Castle and Chapel from north east with the Pentland Hills in the background

Pen, pencil and grey wash, 23 x 30cm
Sketchbook reference: f.13 verso.



15.4

1825

Roslin Castle and Chapel from the river Esk

Pen, pencil and grey wash, 23 x 30cm
Sketchbook reference: f.15 verso.



JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM TURNER 1775-1851

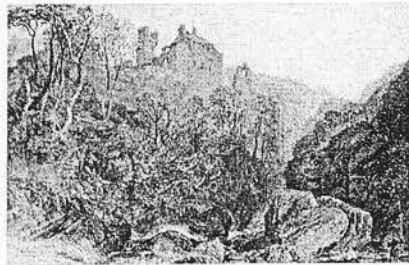
Turner was the son of a print seller in Convent Garden. In 1786 he went to live with his uncle at Brentford, and his earliest dated drawings are from this time. In 1789 he entered the Royal Academy Schools and probably became the pupil of Thomas Malton the elder (1726-1801). In 1801 he made his first visit to Scotland, and returning in 1818 and 1831, to stay with Scott at Abbotsford. The autumnal setting and russet colouring of this watercolour may have been chosen by Turner as a subtle allusion to the myth in Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. The finished print, engraved by William Raymond Smith (fl.1818-1848), was published on 1 November 1822 and issued with the seventh number of the *Provincial Antiquities*.

16

1822

Rosslyn Castle and Chapel

Watercolour, 16.2 x 24.4cm
Indianapolis Museum of Art, Ref. 72.184.



THOMAS HEAPHY 1775-1835

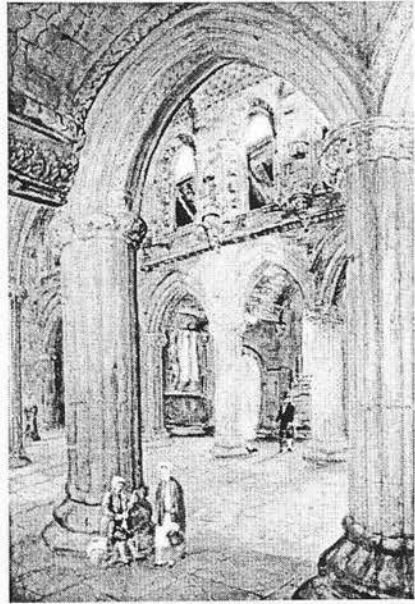
Heaphy started his apprenticeship with the engraver Robert Mitchell Meadows (d.1812). His earliest exhibited works were portraits, but, to earn more money, he also copied popular prints. At the end of his apprenticeship he became a student of the Royal Academy. In 1803 he was appointed portrait painter to the Princess of Wales and in 1806 elected Associate of the Old Watercolour Society from which he resigned in 1812. By this time he had largely turned from portrait to subject paintings, and it was with these that he attained his greatest popularity. His interior view of the Chapel, from the north aisle, shows the clerestory windows not filled up to half their height as in William Dunn's watercolour dated 1816 [cat.13]. It seems that the brickwork with which they were closed was removed by 1825. (see *Bryan and Mallalieu*)

17

c.1825

Interior view from the north aisle looking towards the south aisle

Watercolour, 44.5 x 32cm
Private Collection [Blancett U.S.A.].



GEORGE CUITT Jr 1779-1854

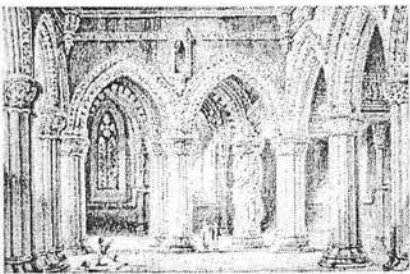
The only son of the landscape painter George Cuit (1743-1818), he was an etcher and painter, and taught drawing at Richmond and at Chester from about 1804 to about 1820. He then returned to Richmond and built a house at Masham, where he lived the rest of his life. He may have taken the second 't' of his name to distinguish himself from his father. His full set of miniature drawings of his 1833 Tour to Scotland are kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. (see *Bryan*)

18

1833

Interior of the Chapel [miniature drawing]

Inscribed on the back: 'Drawn by Geo: Cui[tt] Masham
Yor[ks] July 1833'
Pencil and sepia wash , 6.5 x 8cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Ref. E.2554-1917.



GEORGE MEIKLE KEMP 1794-1844

The architect George Meikle Kemp was born in Moorfoot, Peeblesshire. Kemp worked several years in the office of William Burn, where he was employed as an architectural draughtsman. From 1824-1826 travelled to France and Belgium sketching and measuring the ecclesiastical edifices and antiquities. His best known work was for the Edinburgh Scott's Monument. He died from drowning in the canal basin before the Monument was completed.

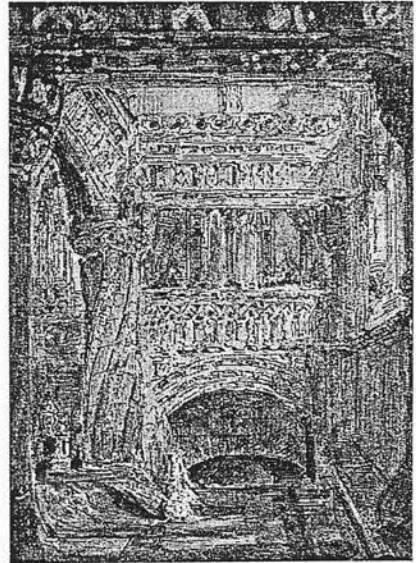
Kemp made frequent journeys in order to inspect and 'reinvent' Rosslyn Chapel. He prepared drawings for a planned volume of Scottish ecclesiastical remains. These took several years and were not completed at the time of Kemp's premature death. Nevertheless, his watercolour view of the Apprentice Pillar reveals more than an imaginative competence in his approach to the Gothic style. The image that he presents goes well beyond the architectural truth: a panelled loggia, for which there is, and never has been, any evidence, is inserted in the final part of the aisle. The whole design resembles a theatre. The two columns and the architrave in the foreground are in darkness and they seem to be intended to frame the drawing. The result is a delimitation of the representation with a remarkable architectonic frame.

19

1824

Rosslyn Chapel, Apprentice Pillar

Pen and watercolour, 13.6 x 11cm
Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, Ref. 1992.9.



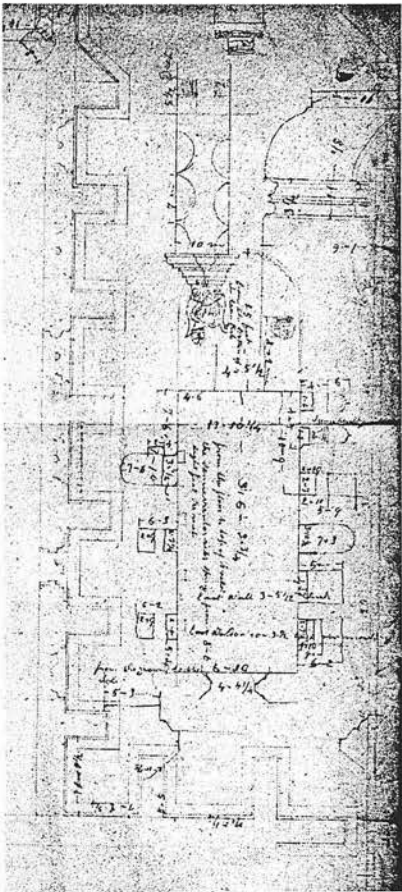
[20] Architectural drawings by Kemp in the Writers Museum, Edinburgh.

A number of sketches and drawings by Kemp were recently discovered in a collection of family papers recently donated to the Writers Museum of Edinburgh. The following items were identified and listed in November 1999 by myself.

[N.B.] In order to show all the details from the same large paper sheet few of the following catalogue entries are repeated as 'bis'.

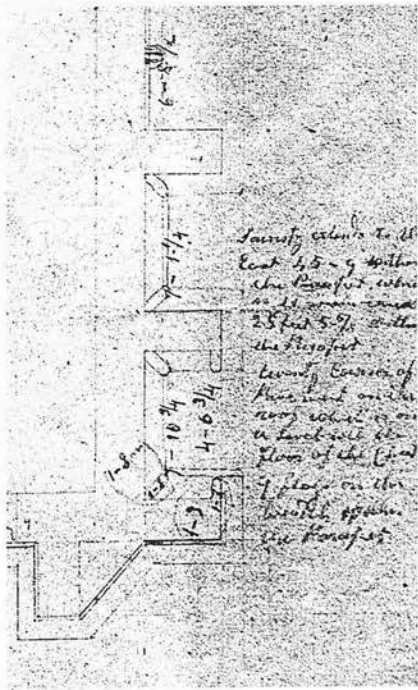
Survey drawing of the Crypt, half plan of the Chapel and detail of the St Clair motif on the vaulting shaft in the crypt

Inscribed: 'From the floor to top of brackets the semicircular ribs spring from 8 feet six inches 8-6 – East Window – East Wall' and other survey notes
Pencil, approx. 80 x 20cm of 80 x 32cm full size drawing
Archive reference: K289 recto.



Plan detail, corner at the east end from right [detail]

Inscribed: 'Sacristy extends to the East 4.5 – 9 within Parapet – which is [ill.] thick 25 feet 5-⁵/₈ within the Parapet. [S]eventy courses of pavement on the roof which is on a level with the floor of the Chapel – 7 flagstones this breadth with the Parapet'
Pencil, approx. 24.8 x 15cm of 80 x 32cm full size drawing
Archive reference: K289 recto.



20.2

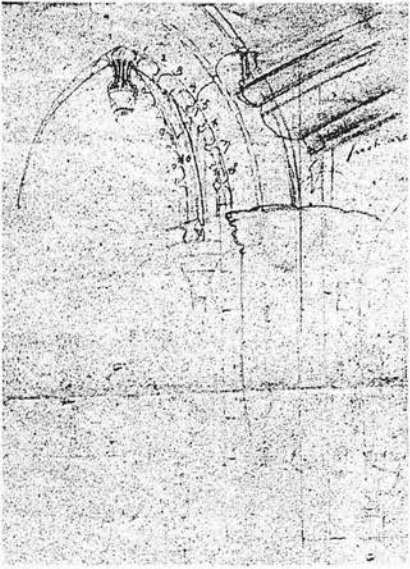
c.1830

Detail of cusps and a boss in the Lady Chapel

Inscribed: 'first architrave'

Pencil, approx. 32 x 19.3cm of 80 x 32cm full size drawing

Archive reference: K289 verso.



20.2bis

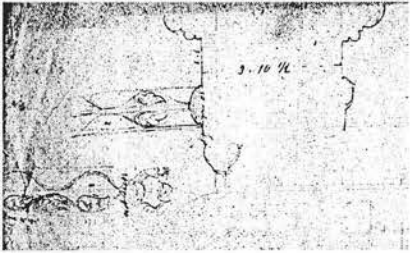
c.1830

Measured section of a window

Inscribed: 'not seen'

Pencil, approx. 20 x 28cm of 32 x 80cm full size drawing

Archive reference: K289 verso.



20.3

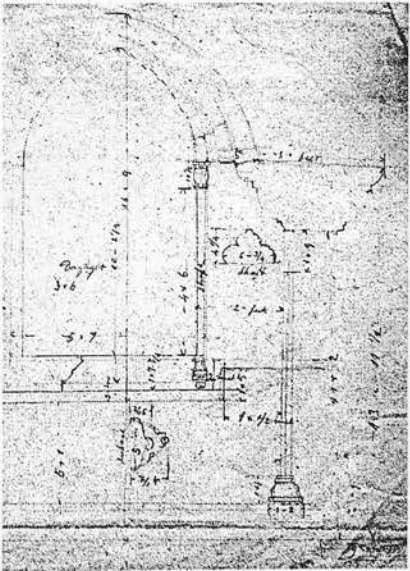
c.1830

Measured drawing of a window

Inscribed: 'Daylight – Shaft'

Pencil, approx. 20 x 28cm of 55.3 x 33.5 full size drawing folded in four parts

Archive reference: K132 recto.



20.3bis

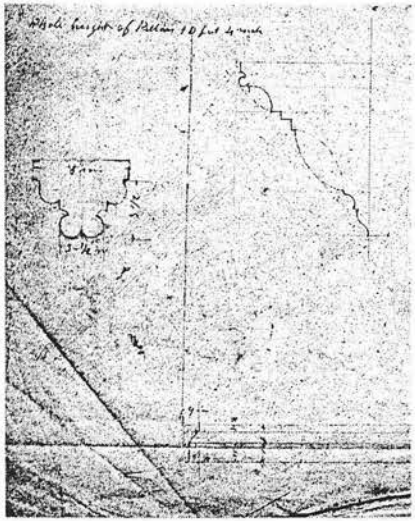
c.1830

Measured drawing of a moulding

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel - Whole height of pillar 10 feet 4 inches'

Pencil, approx. 20 x 18cm of 55.3 x 33.5 full size drawing folded in four parts

Archive reference: K132 recto.



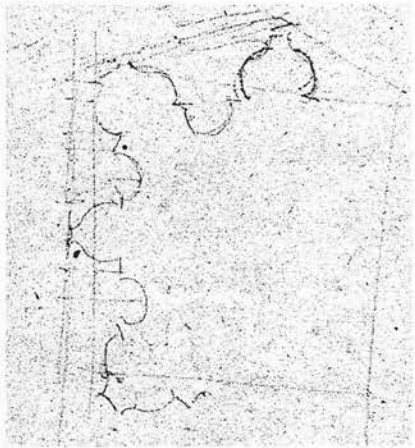
20.4

c.1830

Sketch of a pier's moulding [detail]

Pencil, approx. 7 x 7cm of 55.3 x 33.5 full size drawing folded in four parts

Archive reference: K132 verso.



20.5

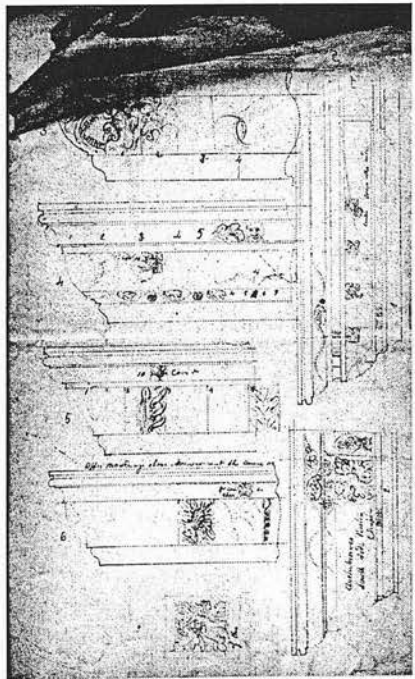
c.1830

Architrave details, mouldings and carvings

Inscribed: 'Upper moulding above Monument the same as - Architraves south side Roslin Chapel'

Pencil, approx. 24.5 x 36.8cm of 49 x 36.8 full size drawing folded in two parts

Archive reference: K149 verso.

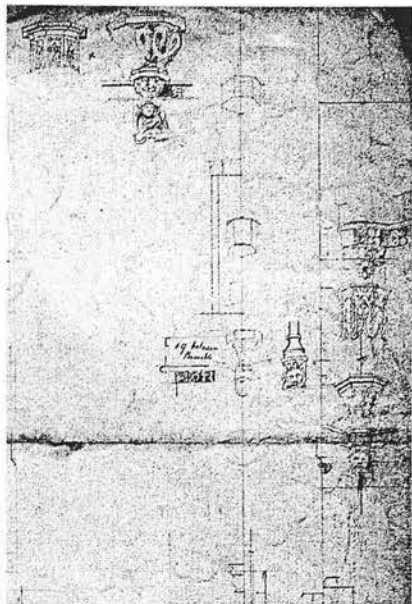


20.5bis

c.1830

Various carving details in the Chapel

Pencil, approx. 24.5 x 36.8cm of 49 x 36.8 full size drawing folded in two parts
Archive reference: K149 verso.

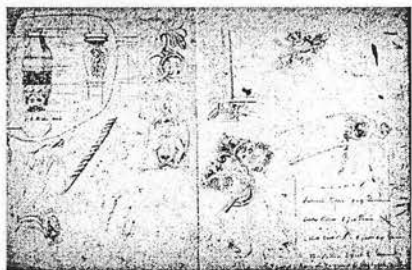


20.6

c.1830

Architectural details of different piers

Inscribed: 'Prentice Pillar 1.9 diameter – Centre Pillar 2 feet diameter – North East Pillar 1 feet 10 diamet[er] – Nave Pillar 2 feet 2 diameter – 7 feet 1 in. From the pavement of Daylight of [ill.]'
Pencil, 19 x 28.7cm
Archive reference: K157 recto.

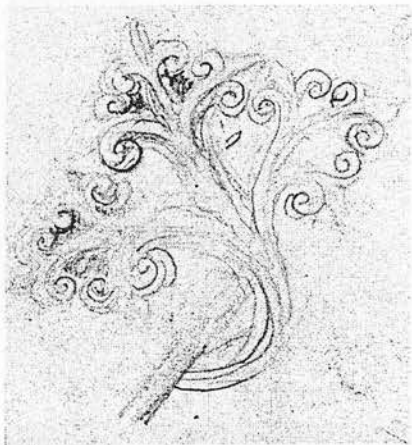


20.6bis

c.1830

Detail of the foliation from the Apprentice Pillar

Pencil, detail approx. 5 x 5cm
Archive reference: K157 recto.



20.7

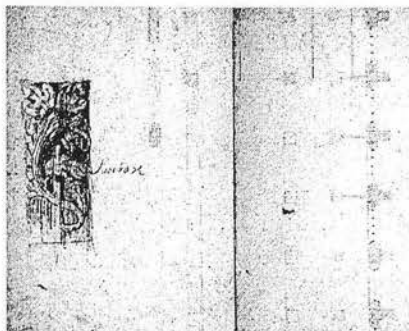
c.1830

Carving detail and plan of the Chapel

Inscribed: '[ill.] base'

Pencil sketch on paper, 19 x 28.7cm

Archive reference: K157 verso.



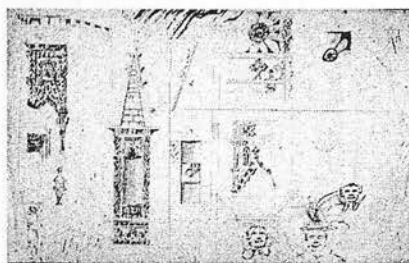
20.8

c.1830

Ornamental details, pinnacles and niches

Pen and pencil, 20.2 x 12.8cm

Archive reference K305/7.



20.9

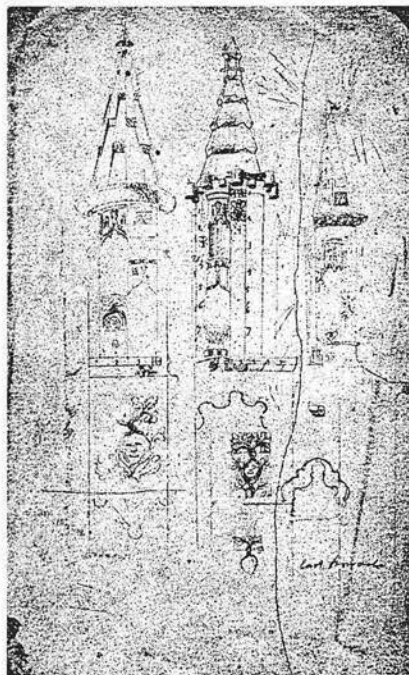
c.1830

Pinnacles at the east end

Inscribed: 'East pinnacles'

Pencil on paper, 23 x 14.3cm

Archive reference: K306/5a recto.



20.10

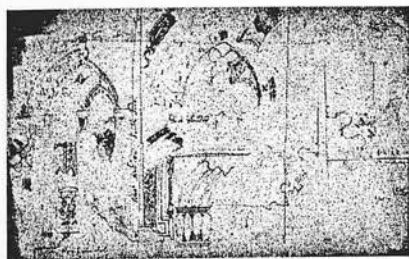
c.1830

Mullion, tracery and rear arch details of the door window

Inscribed: 'West window South side – Door splay – Door Window'

Pencil on paper, 14.3 x 23cm

Archive reference: K306/5 verso.

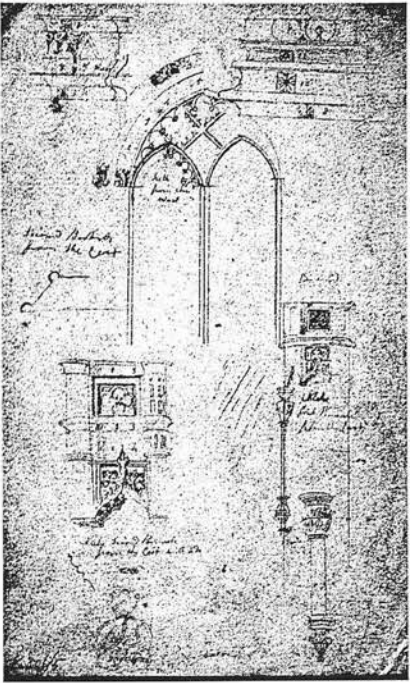


20.11

c.1830

Window tracery and niches details

Inscribed: 'Second buttress from the East - South from the West - Niche first Pinnacle from the East - Niche Second Pinnacle from the East South Side'
Pencil on paper, 25 x 14.5cm
Archive reference: K306/5b recto.



20.12

c.1830

Pendent boss from the ceiling of the Lady Chapel

Inscribed: 'Third Capital from the East - fourth nearly the same as the first from the East'
Pencil on paper, 39.2 x 25cm
Archive reference: K310/3.

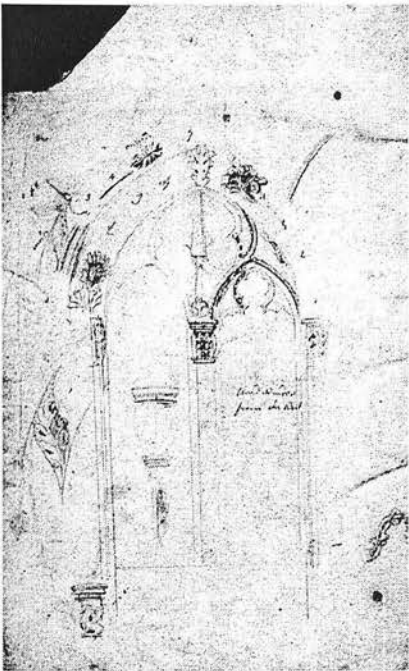


20.13

c.1830

Window on the south wall

Inscribed: 'third window from the West'
Pencil on paper, 25 x 14.5cm
Archive reference: K310/4 recto.

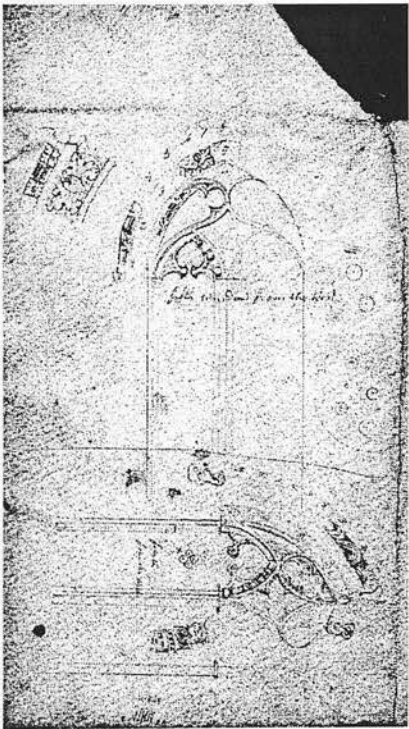


20.14

c.1830

Window on the south wall

Inscribed: 'fourth window from the West – fourth from the West'
Pencil sketches on paper, 25 x 14.5cm
Archive reference: K310/4 verso.

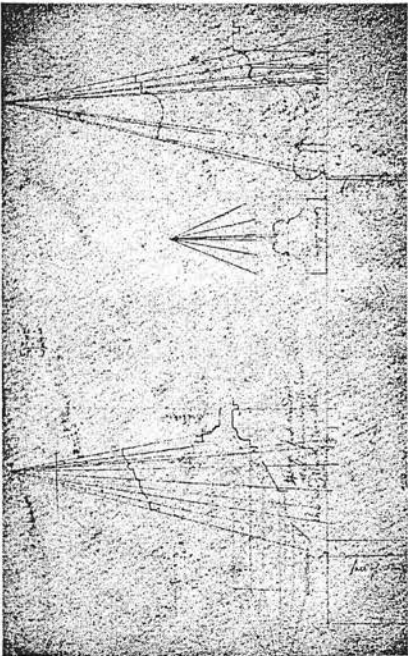


20.15

c.1830

Moulding profiles and projection

Inscribed: 'Mullion – Splay first window West from
South – Door – Centre Mullion'
Pencil, 24.8 x 15cm
Archive reference: K311/8 recto.

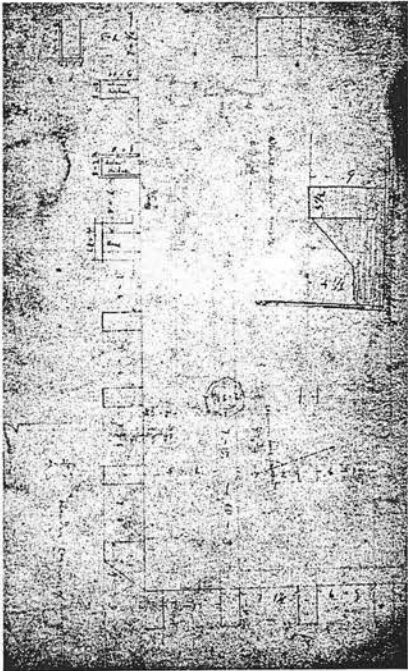


20.16

c.1830

Roslin plan of the south side

Inscribed with survey notes
Pencil, 24.8 x 15cm
Archive reference: K311/8 verso.

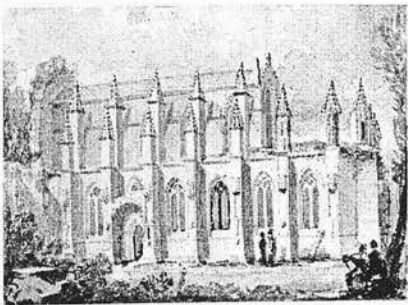


20.17

c.1830

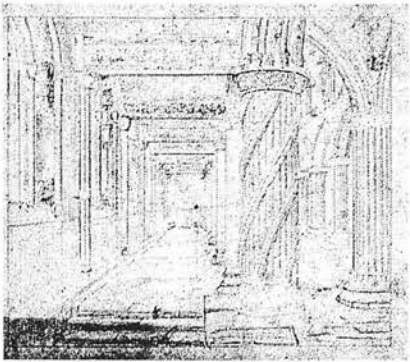
South side view of the Chapel

Watercolour glued on board, 17.6 x 22.2cm
Archive reference: K44 recto.



Perspective view of the south aisle from the east end

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel'
Pencil glued on board, 17.6 x 22.2cm
Archive reference: K44 verso.



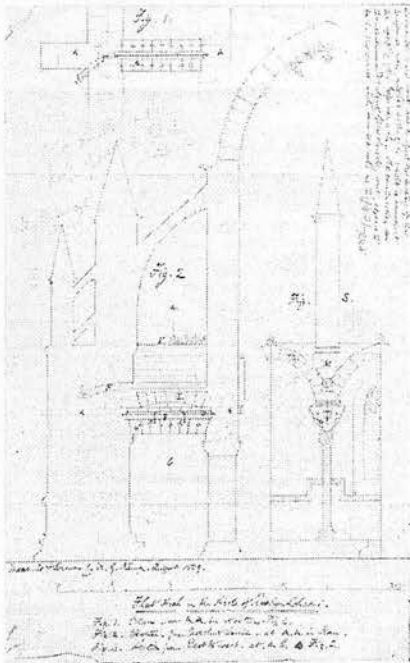
[21] Drawing in the album *Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel* by Kemp, Private collection [Taylor], Edinburgh.

In the preparation of his 1846 lecture at the RIBA John Britton made use of his Scottish contacts to gather the best possible information about the Chapel. It was Kemp who went to Rosslyn to inspect the flat arches over the side aisles in order to produce a drawing representing the section of the building and showing the methods of construction. Kemp's very precise architectural account was then reproduced as a diagram for the lecture. The drawing is part of a letter to John Britton on double foolscap signed George Meikle Kemp, dated 7 August 1839. The letter appears in the album 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel'.

- Three diagrams of the Chapel:*
- Horizontal section through a flat arch
 - Lateral section trough ditto, showing cross-section through chapel
 - Cross-section through ditto, showing lateral section through aisle

Inscribed as above
Pen and pencil, 33.5 x 42cm
Album reference: f.7.

[note] A full transcription of the folio 7 of the Album appears in the Appendix.



ROBERT GIBB 1800-1837

Gibb was born in Dundee. He was a founder member of the Scottish Academy in 1826. He was a landscape painter working in both oil and watercolour, the latter being more successful. The crudeness of his colours combined with the brevity of his life to deny him the recognition expected of an Academician. His large-scale pencil drawings of the Chapel are admirable in technique and reveal an early attempt at outdoor naturalism.

22

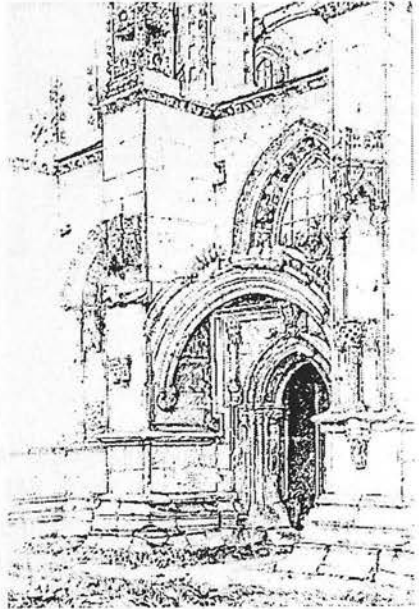
1832

South porch of the Chapel

Inscribed above 'South entrance' and bottom right
'Sketch from Nature', signed 'R. Gibbs del 1832'

Pencil, 52.7 x 35.7cm

National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, Ref. D 43.



23

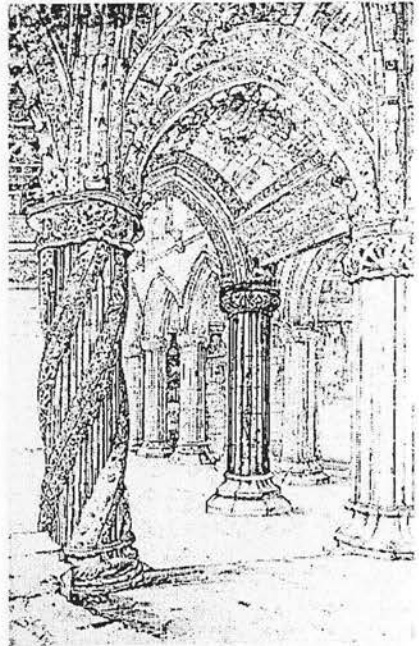
c.1832

View of the Chapel across the nave

Inscribed: 'Interior Roslin Chapel' signed with initials

Pencil, 52.5 x 32.8cm

National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, Ref. D 41.

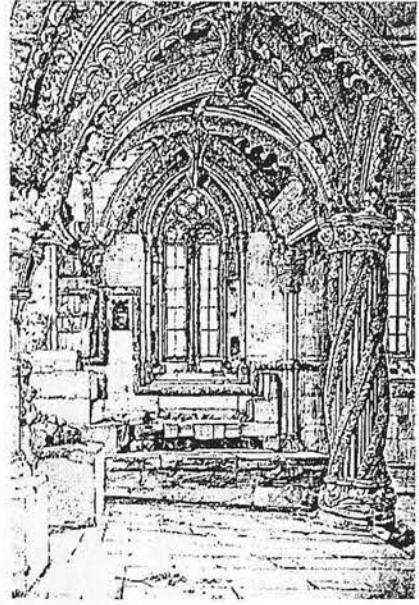


View of the Lady Chapel

Inscribed on verso: 'Interior Roslin Chapel'

Pencil, 40.5 x 27.1cm

National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, Ref. D 42.

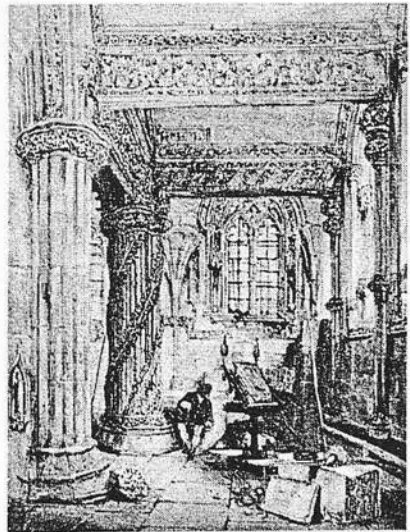
**GEORGE CATTERMOLLE 1800-1868**

Cattermole's artistic career began as an architectural draughtsman for John Britton, with whom he was placed at the age of fourteen. He made many illustrations for Britton's *Cathedral Antiquities of Great Britain*. Abandoning purely architectural for figure subjects, he became a painter of historical genre, of great spirit and originality. His early reading is said to have been Walter Scott – in 1830 he toured Scotland making illustrations for the *Waverly Novels* – and 'his works are to art what Scott's were to literature' (see *Halsby/Harris*). His watercolour view of Rosslyn Chapel, which was engraved by Thomas Higham and published in 1835, was also the subject of an oil painting [see cat.77, 53].

Rosslyn Chapel with lectern and seated figure

Watercolour, 28.7 x 23cm

Private Collection [Ref.NGS-Wiltshire].



WILLIAM GAWEN HERDMAN 1805-1822

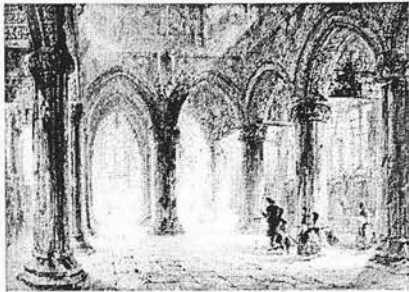
Herdman was a Liverpool landscape and topographical painter. Best known for his topographical studies of Liverpool and the surrounding area, such as *Pictorial Relics of Ancient Liverpool* published in 1843 and 1856. He was an active member of the Liverpool Academy until about 1857 when he left following a quarrel and set up a rival Academy called 'Institution of Fine Arts'. He wrote essays and pamphlets on a wide variety of subjects, including curvilinear perspective. (see *Wood*)

26

1838

Interior showing the Apprentice Pillar

Watercolour, 44 x 61.5cm
Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, Ref. WAG 7591.

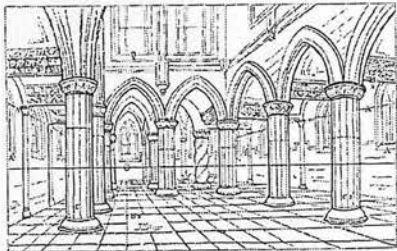


27

1849

Perspective Figure

Pen and pencil, 10.2 x 16cm
The drawing was later published in *The Art Journal*, 1 November 1849, p.329.
Private Collection [Hemmings].



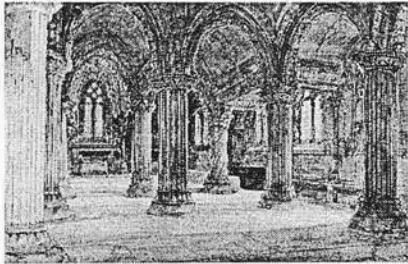
DAVID ROBERTS 1796-1864

Born in Edinburgh, Roberts was apprenticed to a house painter before becoming scene painter to Bannister's travelling circus. In 1822 he moved to the Drury Lane Theatre, London, where he painted sets with Clarkson Stanfield (1828-1878). He was the Vice-President of the Society of British Artists in 1823 and President in 1830; he became an Honorary Member of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1829. In 1832 he visited Spain and in 1838, Egypt and Syria. Both tours resulted in publications; his *Views in the Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia*, comprising some 250 chromo-lithographic plates, appeared in parts between 1842 and 1849. In 1851 he went to Italy. Roberts became an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1838, and an Academician in 1841. He served on the Board of Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851. Roberts knew Rosslyn Chapel from childhood and revisited it throughout his life as a continuous source of inspiration.

28 1828

Interior of Roslin Chapel, looking south-east

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel 1828'
Watercolour, 25.4 x 37.5 cm
Private Collection [Murdoch].



29 1830

The Apprentice Pillar

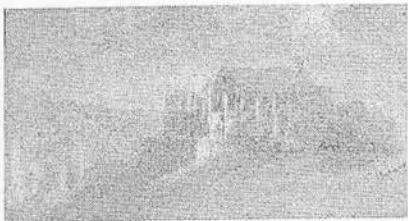
Watercolour, 31.4 x 22.9cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Ref. 1046-1873.



30 c.1840

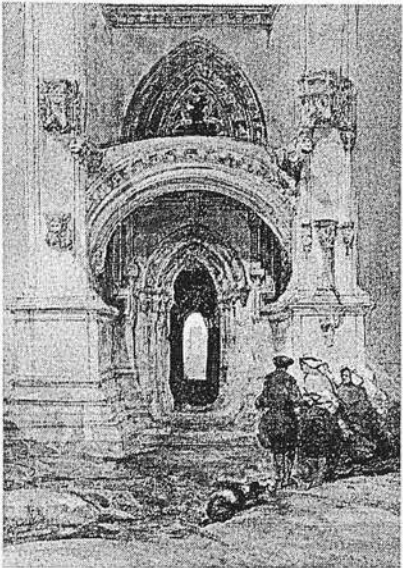
Rosslyn Chapel and Castle

Inscribed 'Roslyn'
Pencil and watercolour heightened with white on grey paper, 14.7 x 27.6cm
Private Collection [Widdowson].



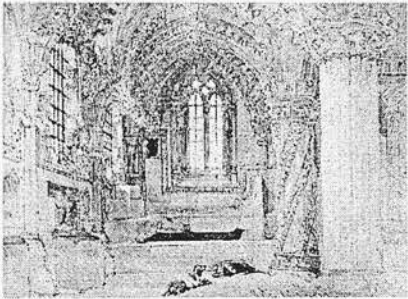
The South Porch of Rosslyn Chapel

Inscribed: 'David Roberts R.A.'
Watercolour, 70 x 51.5cm (framed)
Private collection [Rosslyn].



The Interior of Rosslyn Chapel

Inscribed: 'David Roberts - Oct 11th 1842'
Pencil and watercolour heightened with white on light brown paper, 25.3 x 35cm
National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 5130.



Porch of the Chapel, study for the frontispiece to 'Scotland Delineated'

Watercolour on brown paper, 47 x 35.9cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Ref. FA540.



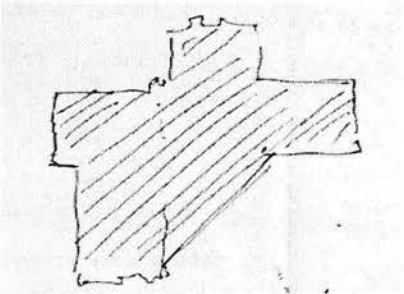
[34] Drawings in the album ‘Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel’ by Roberts, Private collection [Taylor], Edinburgh.

Roberts put forward a new interpretation of the constructional history of the Chapel on the basis of his own detailed examination. He wrote about this to John Britton stating his reasons for reaching the conclusion that an alteration had been made at the east end wall and accompanied the letter with a section and ground plan of the building in which he highlighted with a red ink line the original wall. These drawings are all preserved in the album ‘Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel’.

34.1 1842

Pen sketch showing detail of the east end corner of the Chapel

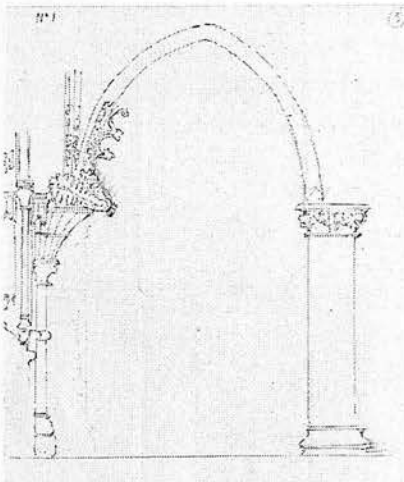
Inscribed notes from Roberts to Britton
Pen, 18.4 x 23cm
Album reference: f.23.



34.2 1842

Section of the Chancel of Roslin Chapel

Inscribed: ‘N°1’ with red ink ‘original wall’
Pen, 23 x 17.5cm
Album reference: f.5 i.

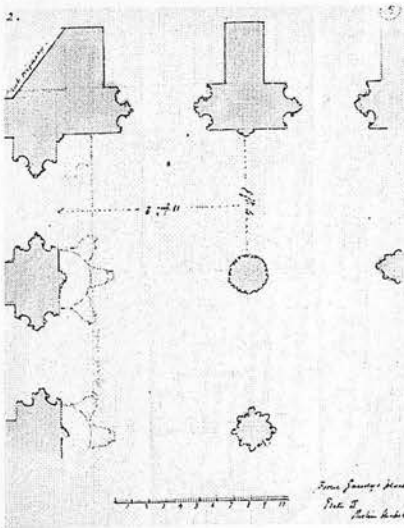


34.3 1842

Plan of the Chancel of Roslin Chapel

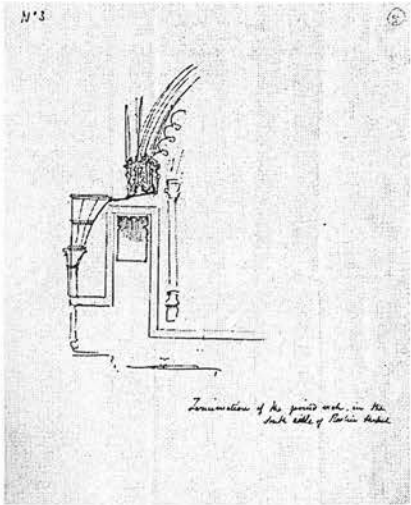
Inscribed: ‘From Gandy’s Plan Plate II Roslin Chapel – 2’ and with red ink ‘original wall’
Pen and pink wash, 23 x 17.5cm
Album reference: f.5 ii.

[see cat.68.2]



Termination of the groin[ed] arch in the south aisle of Roslin Chapel

Inscribed as above and 'N°3'
Pen, 23 x 17.5cm
Album reference: f.5 iii.

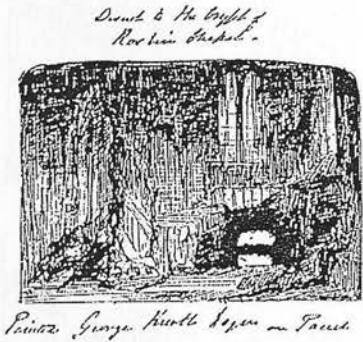


[35] Sketches in a record book by Roberts, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

Roberts recorded his oil paintings in small and ink sketches, numbered, with details of where they were first exhibited and who were the first purchasers. Sometimes later information about their history was added. The early part of the record book is an important source of reference for Roberts's early life and scene painting. These two volumes recording paintings and notes by Roberts from 1821 to 1864 contain six sketches related to Rosslyn Chapel paintings.

View of the Apprentice Pillar from the south aisle

Inscribed.: 'Descent to the crypt of Roslin Chapel –
Painted George Knott 80 gui[neas] on Panel'
Pen sketch, 7 x 10cm
Reference number: 109.

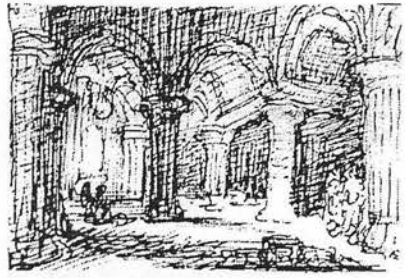


Interior view looking towards the east end

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel' and a press cutting with the following lines: 'but this *chief d'oeuvre* is a magical interior of The West End of Roslyn Castle [sic Chapel], certainly one of the finest specimens of the English school and in no respect inferior to any architectural subject we ever beheld; independently of the correctness of the drawing and perspective, there is a beautiful mellow tone of colouring throughout, that fills up the ideality of the scene, and excites one general feeling of admiration'.

Pen sketch, 4.6 x 7cm

Reference number: 22.

*View of the Lady Chapel towards south*

Inscribed.: 'Roslin Chapel, painted for Mr Shepshank, £105 – This with two others, are now part of the Shepshank Collection presented by him to the Nation, now exhibited at Kensington Gardens'

Pen sketch, 6.4 x 4.5cm

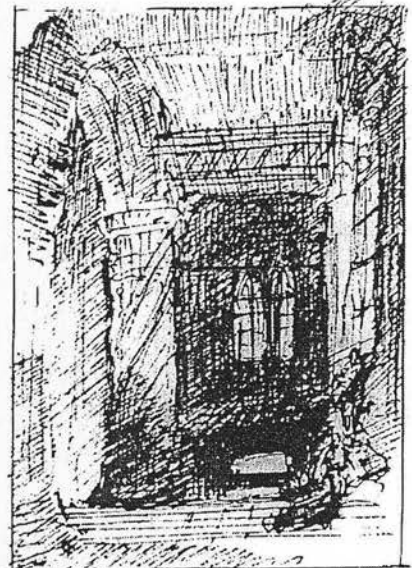
Reference number: 107.

*Interior view from the south aisle*

Inscribed: 'Interior of Roslin Chapel painted for Joshua Feilden of Blackburn, Lancashire, one hundred pounds'

Pen sketch, 8.2 x 6cm

Reference number: 115.



35.5

1845

South porch of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Porch of Roslin Chapel'

Pen sketch, 5.4 x 3.6cm

Reference number: 120.



35.6

1846

View of the south aisle

Inscribed: 'Interior of Roslin Chapel'

Pen sketch, 5.5 x 4cm

Reference number: 121.



JOHN RUSKIN 1819-1900

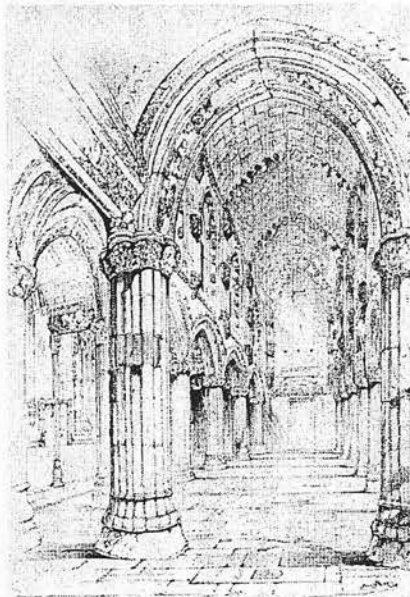
Ruskin was poet, painter, critic and social reformer. His artistic inclinations were fostered by his father, who had been a pupil of Alexander Nasmyth. He also travelled widely with his parents in the British Isles and, from 1833, in Europe. His own drawing masters were Anthony Vandyke Copley Fielding (1787-1855) and James Duffield Harding (1798-1863). As an art critic Ruskin's greatest importance lay in championship of Turner and later the Pre-Raphaelites. He exhibited at the Old Watercolour Society from 1873 to 1884 and was elected an Honorary Member. His early 'architectural' style is often very free and pleasing, and is greatly influenced by Samuel Prout (1783-1852). Ruskin was only 19 years old when he first visited and recorded Rosslyn Chapel with the following two drawings.

36

1838

Rosslyn Chapel Interior

Pencil, 52.8 x 36.6cm
Ruskin Foundation, Ruskin Library, Ref RF 987.

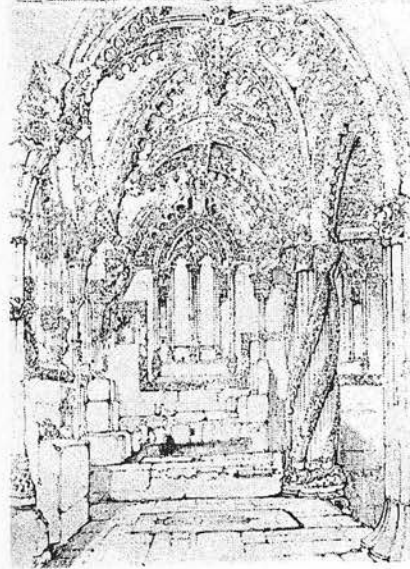


37

1838

Rosslyn Chapel Interior

Pencil, 50 x 35cm
Private collection [Bembridge].



JOHN THOMPSON 1825-1881

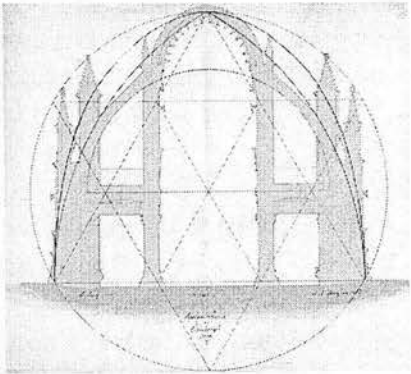
Thompson was the custodian of the Chapel and Castle in the late Victorian period. He produced a very fine drawing of the building based on Edward Cresy's published survey of the Chapel [see cat.82; see also cat.119-120].

38

1840

*Section through nave with geometrical figure
based upon a circle*

Inscribed: 'E.Cresy inv.t - J.R.Thompson del.t - in scale
Roslyn Chaple [sic] in Edinburgh 1840'
Pen, pencil and grey wash, 33.5 x 42cm
From the album 'Documents Related to Roslin Chapel',
f.25. Private collection [Taylor].



JOHN BRITTON 1771-1857

Britton was one of the most important British topographers and antiquarians. His first major publication was the *Beauties of Wiltshire*, the first of twenty six county volumes planned to cover all the architectural antiquities of England. He also published the *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* (1805-1814), and *Cathedral Antiquities of England* (1814-1835). For all these works he commissioned drawings from the best topographical draughtsmen of the day, and himself did some of the drawings. Britton had a very strong interest in the architectural features of the Chapel and collected most or indeed all the material related to it in what will later become the album 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel'.

[39] Drawings in the album 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel' by Britton, Private collection [Taylor], Edinburgh.

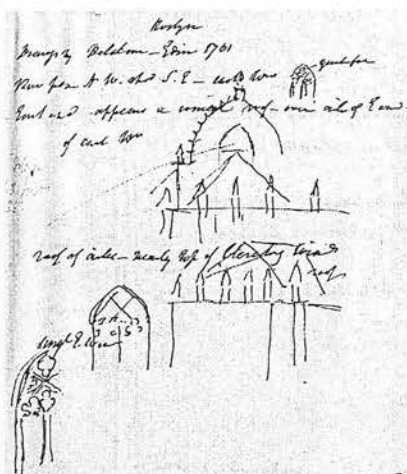
Many pages in the album 'Documents' refer to Britton's lecture on Rosslyn Chapel given in London at the Royal Institute of British Architects in January 1846. These documents are an extraordinary testimony to Britton's endeavours towards the preparation of this paper. Among his meticulous notes there are also two sketches of the building by Britton's hand.

39.1

1842

Pen sketch showing window details and the roof on the east end

Inscribed: 'Roslyn - Drawings by Delacour Edin. 1761 - View from the N[orth]. Other S[outh] E[ast] end - East end appears a conical [sic] roof over aisles end of east - roof of aisle nearly top of clerestory wind[dows]'
Pen, 28 x 22cm
Album reference: f.21 ii.

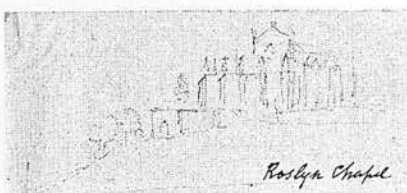


39.2

1842

Pencil sketch showing the Chapel from north east

Inscribed with pen 'Roslyn Chapel'
Pencil, approx. 8 x 15cm
Album reference: f.21 v.



THOMAS KEMP 1833-1853

Thomas Kemp was the son of George Meikle Kemp, the architect of the Scott's Monument. The architect Thomas Ross seems to have known him personally when he might have been working in his office. Since Thomas Kemp was no more than twenty years old when he died very few drawings remain as a testimony of his architectural skills.

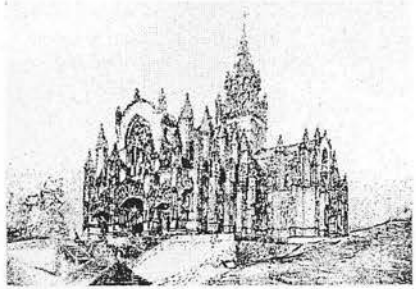
40

c.1850

Roslin Chapel as it might have been.

Inscribed on recto: 'Collegiate Church of St Matthew's, Rosslyn. In its (supposed) finished state'
Pencil sketch in the collection of 'Mr Thomas Bonnar' and now lost.

Copied and inserted by Rev. John Thompson, chaplain to the 5th Earl of Rosslyn, in *The Illustrated guide to Rosslyn Chapel & Castle*, Edinburgh 1934.



[41] Architectural drawings by T. Kemp in the Writers Museum, Edinburgh.

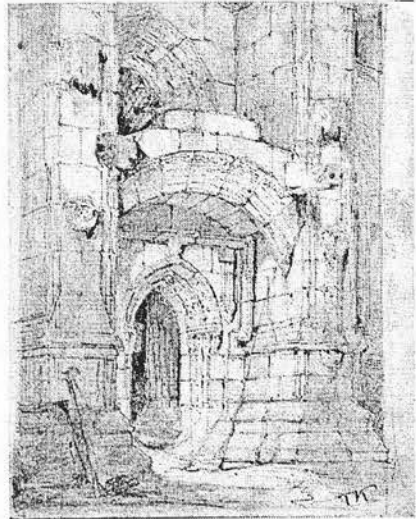
Five sheets of drawings by Thomas Kemp are kept in the Writers Museum of Edinburgh. The style of these sketches is very distinctive and easy to distinguish from his father's hand.

41.1

c.1850

South porch of the Chapel

Inscribed with monogram 'TK'
Pencil on brown paper, 19.7 x 16cm
Archive reference: K221.



41.2

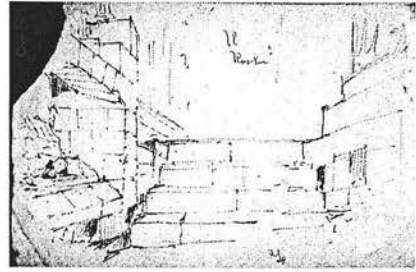
c.1850

Steps leading to the Crypt

Inscribed: 'Roslin'

Pencil, 16.5 x 24.3cm

Archive reference: K311/4 verso.



41.3

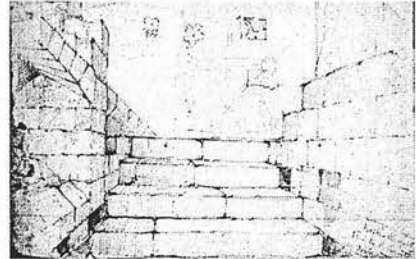
c.1850

Steps leading to the Crypt

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel stairs to sacristy – south aisle'

Pencil, 16 x 22.5cm

Archive reference: K236 recto.



41.4

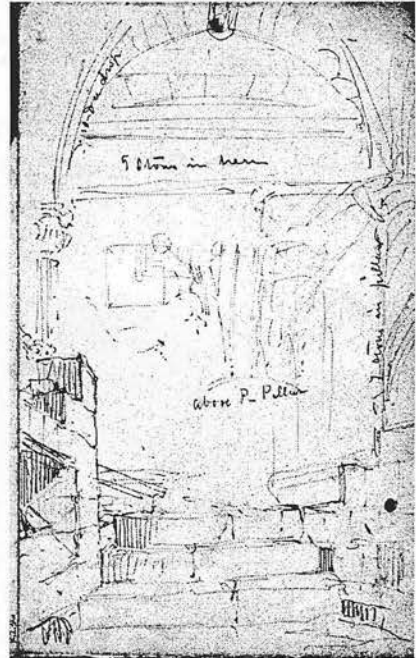
c.1850

View from the crypt of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Above P.Pillar – 10.8 in drop – 5 stones in here'

Pencil, 16 x 25.5cm

Archive reference: K236 verso.



Detail of a rear-vault and study of the Apprentice Pillar's base

Inscribed: 'Roslin Plans Elevations & Sections [sic]'
Pencil on paper, 24.3 x 16.5cm
Archive reference: K311/4 recto.

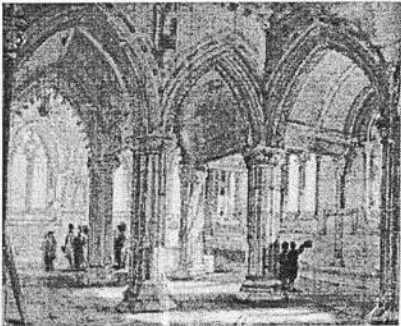


WILLIAM RICHARDSON ACTIVE 1842-1877

Son of a cabinet maker in York, Richardson became an architect and specialised in drawings of abbeys and ruins. His style is a little reminiscent of John Sell Cotman (1782-1842). He exhibited at the Royal Academy of London and elsewhere from 1842 to 1877. (see *Wood*)

Interior View of the Chapel

Watercolour, 16.5 x 24.3cm
Private collection [Colvin].



JOHN ADAM HOUSTON 1812-1884

Born in Wales of a Scottish family, Houston studied at the Trustees' Academy and established a reputation as a painter of historical canvases often on a large scale. In 1841 he moved to Edinburgh, having already travelled extensively in France, Germany, and Italy. In the same years Houston began painting watercolour landscapes which were exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy. He continued to paint watercolours of Scottish Highlands incorporating many of Ruskin's principles. These watercolours with their insistence upon detail and precision represent his best work. (see *Halsby/Harris* and *Turner*)

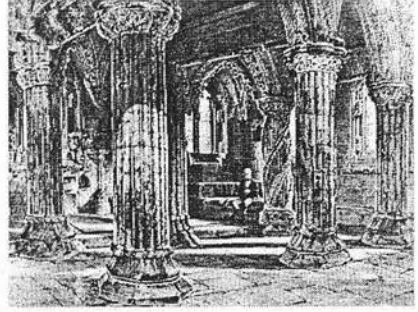
43

1855

Sir Walter Scott in Rosslyn Chapel

Watercolour, 43 x 57cm

Private Collection [Wilcockson].



JOSIAH WOOD WHYMPER 1813-1903

The son of a brewer, Whymper was apprenticed to a stone-mason and was largely self-taught as a landscape painter and engraver. He settled in London in 1829 and took a few lessons from William Collingwood (1819-1903) as well as making many illustrations. Ruskin admired his work and acquired for his collection Whymper's Rosslyn watercolour. (see *Wood*)

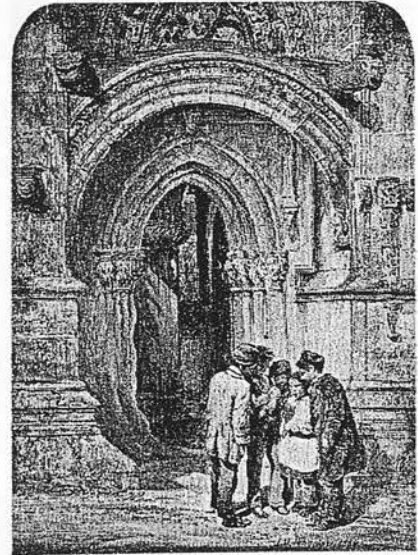
44

1858

The South Door, Rosslyn Chapel

Watercolour, 22.5 x 19.5cm

Ruskin Foundation, Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster, Ref. 623.



SAMUEL BOUGH 1822-1878

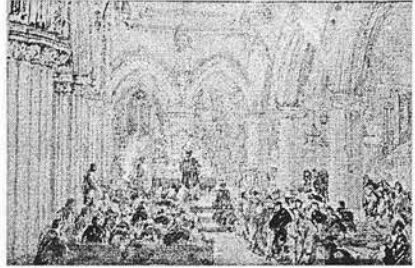
Born in Carlisle, the son of a shoemaker, Bough, who became a noted Scottish landscape painter in oil, was briefly placed with Thomas Allom (1804-1872) in London where he learned engraving. He worked as a theatre scenery painter in Manchester, Glasgow and Edinburgh and was elected Academician of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1856. Although he travelled widely about Great Britain, his favourite sketching areas were in Scotland. Bough was also a good watercolourist. (see *McEwan* and *Turner*)

45

1862

Midnight Mass at Rosslyn Chapel

Watercolour, heightened with white, 28.8 x 40.4cm
Private Collection [Rosslyn].



JOHN LINNIE fl. 1879

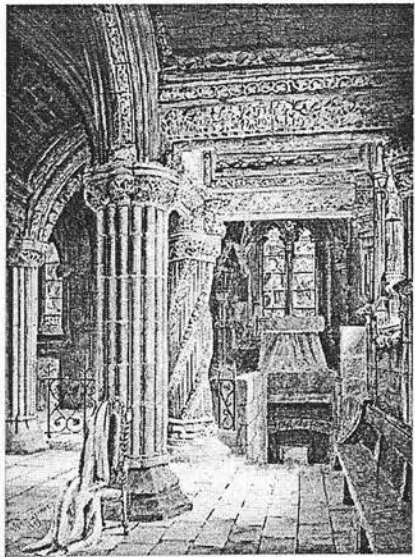
Scottish amateur painter who lived in 2 Napier Road in Edinburgh. He made a watercolour of the Chapel that was exhibited at the Dundee Fine Art Exhibition the same year.

46

1879

View of the Apprentice Pillar

Inscribed: 'John Linnie 1879'
Watercolour, 47 x 34.2cm
Private Collection [Morison – Devizes].



PATRICK WILLIAM ADAM 1854-1929

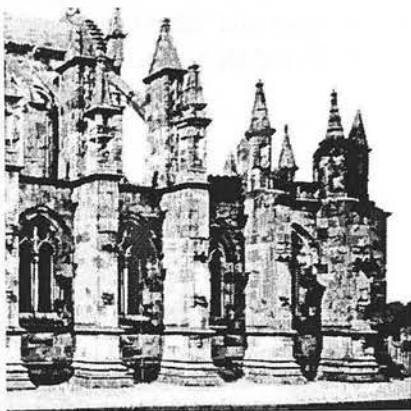
‘Pat’ William Adam was a painter of portraits, landscapes, subject pictures, still life, interiors. He studied in London before moving to Scotland to complete his formal studies at the Royal Scottish Academy School under William McTaggart (1835-1910). His artistic interest were varied, now best remembered for his tenderly portrayed interiors from 1908 when he was living in North Berwick.

47

c.1890

Rosslyn Chapel, South Side

Watercolour, 48 x 39.8cm
Private Collection [Campbell Fraser].



THOMAS ROSS 1839-1930

Architect and writer. Apprenticed to Kirkland and Charles Wilson's office in Glasgow. Appointed assistant to David MacGibbon in 1862, later to become a partner. He was appointed Professor of Antiquities from the Royal Scottish Academy in 1918. Associated with Robert Lorimer as editor of the National Art Survey of Scotland, for vol.2, 1923 and vol.3, 1925. Co-author with David MacGibbon, of *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* and later *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*. Combined artistic and architectural skills. His work as an architectural draughtsman is of the highest order, ranking him beside Robert William Billings (q.v.).

[48] Drawings for *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* by Ross, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

The National Library of Scotland holds a large collection of drawings and notes illustrative of Scottish architecture which were mainly the materials used by MacGibbon and Ross in their publications. Within the collection are kept also all the preparatory sketches for the Chapel illustrations made by Ross while involved in the project. There are more than thirty drawings dedicated to the Chapel, five of which were not published.

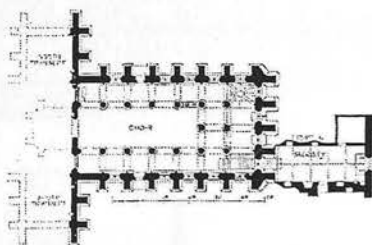
[N.B.] This drawing catalogue follows the order in which the illustrations were published in the third volume of *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*.

48.1

c.1890

Plan of the Chapel

Pen and pencil, part of a large sheet sized 56. x 75.5cm
Published as fig.1070, vol.3, p.150
Library reference: MS. 692, no.275.



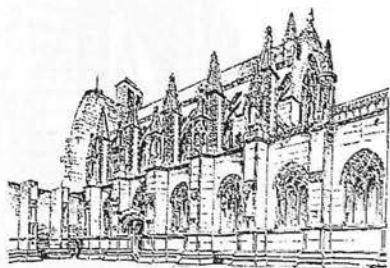
48.2

1893

View from south east

Inscribed with author's monogram and dated '16 Sept. 1893'

Touched proof, 38 x 28cm
Published as fig.1071, vol.3, p.152
Library reference: MS 692, no.241.



North doorway and buttresses

Inscribed on the back 'North Aisle', author's monogram and additional signature

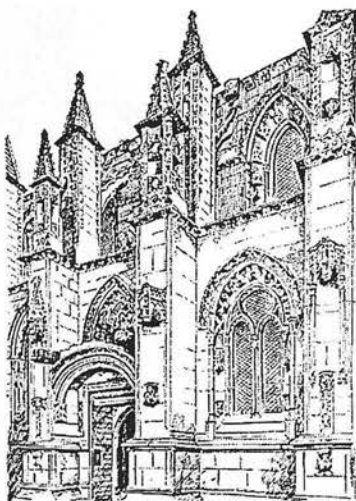
Pen and pencil, 28 x 38cm

Published as fig.1072, vol.3, p.154

Library reference: MS 692, no.238.

3.a. Touched proof same size as ink drawing, dated 11 April 1894

Library reference: MS. 692, no.239.

*South side of the Chapel looking east.*

Inscribed 'Rosslyn Thomas Ross' and monogram

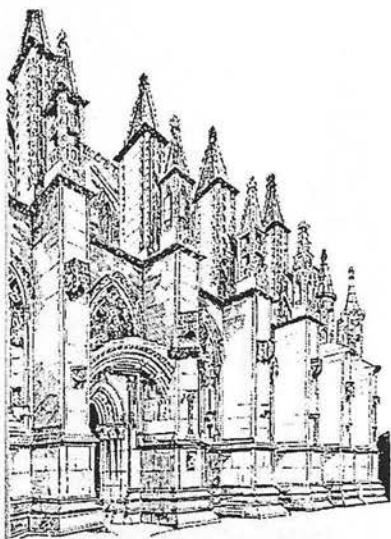
Pen and pencil, 38.2 x 27.5cm.

Published as fig.1073, vol.3, p.155

Library reference: MS 692, no.242.

48.4.a. Touched proof same size as ink drawing, signed with monogram and dated 30th June 1894

Library reference: MS. 692, no.243.



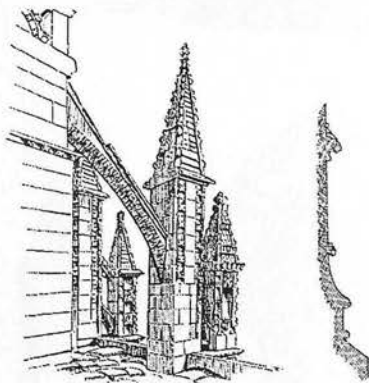
*Pinnacles on buttresses, from roof of aisle and
Base mouldings and lower string course, with
peculiar moulding above the latter.*

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn pinnacles over Aisles N.E. Angle'

Pen and pencil, 38 x 28cm

Published as figg.1074, 1091, vol.3, pp.156, 175

Library reference: MS. 692, no.250.



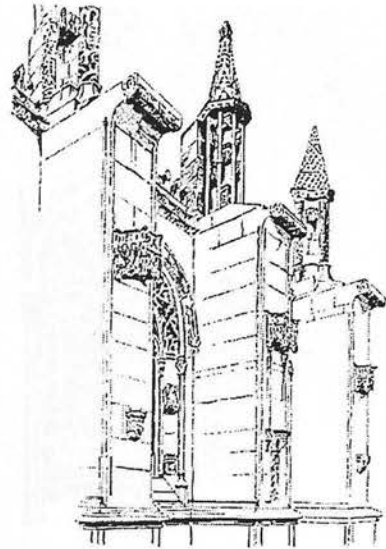
48.6

1894

Pinnacles at East End

Inscribed 'Rosslyn Thomas Ross'
Pen and pencil, 38.2 x 27.5cm
Published as fig.1075, vol.3, p.157
Library reference: MS. 692, no.246.

48.6.a. Touched proof same size as ink drawing, singed
with monogram and dated 19 August 1894
Library reference: MS. 692, no.247.



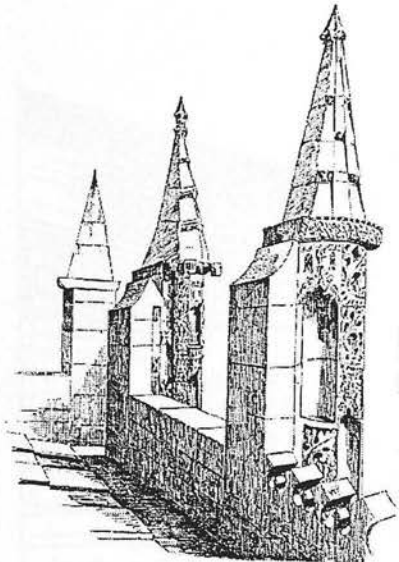
48.7

1896

Pinnacles over East Chapels, from Roof of Aisle

Inscribed 'Rosslyn -Thomas Ross' and two monograms
Pen and pencil, 38 x 28cm
Published as fig.1076, vol.3, p.158
Library reference: MS. 692, no.244.

48.7.a. Touched proof same size as ink drawing, singed
with monogram and dated 20 April 1896
Library reference: MS. 692, no.245.



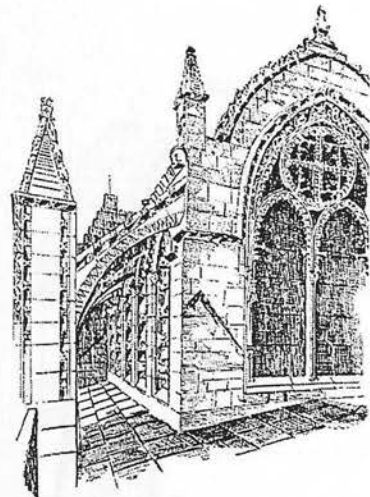
48.8

1896

East End of Choir, above Roof of Aisles

Inscribed 'Rosslyn - Thomas Ross' and author's
monogram
Pen and pencil, 38.2 x 27.7cm
Published as fig.1077, vol.3, p.160
Library reference: MS. 692, no.248.

48.8.a Touched proof on green paper, same size as ink
drawing, singed with monogram and dated 20 April
1896
Library reference: MS. 692, no.249.



Interior of Choir, looking East

Inscribed 'Rosslyn Thomas Ross' and author's monogram

Pen and pencil, 38.2 x 28.2cm

Published as fig.1078, vol.3, p.161

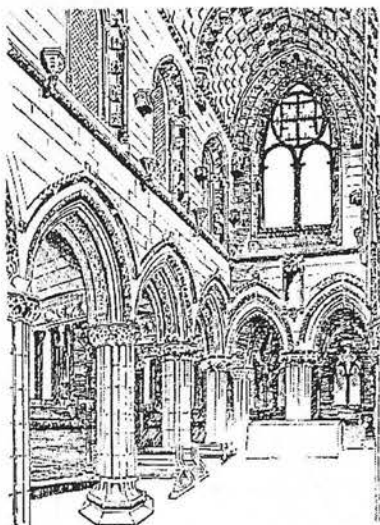
Library reference: MS. 692, no.253.

48.9.a Touched proof same size as ink drawing, signed with monogram and dated 11 August 1894

Library reference: MS. 692, no.255.

48.9.b Another touched proof, same size as the ink drawing, half pencil and half ink with many pencil construction lines, inscribed 'Thomas Ross'

Library reference: MS. 692, no.254.



48.10

1895

Interior of West End of North Aisle

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn - Thomas Ross' and author's monogram

Pen and pencil, 38 x 28cm

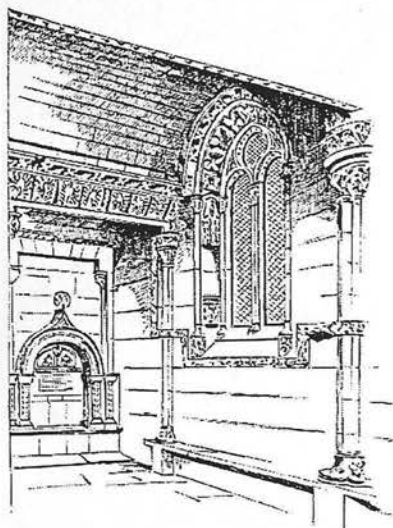
Published as fig.1079, vol.3, p.162

Library reference: MS. 692, no.261.

48.10.a Touched proof same size as ink drawing, signed with monogram and dated 5 Oct. 1895, on the

verso a pencil sketch from the same point of view

Library reference: MS. 692, no.262.



48.11

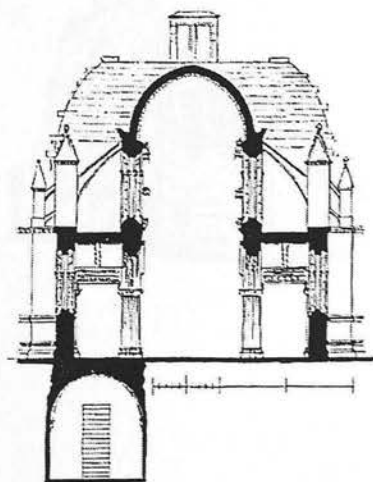
c.1895

Transverse Section of the Chapel

Pen and pencil, part of a paper sheet sized 56 x 75.5cm

Published as fig.1080, vol.3, p.163

Library reference: MS. 692, no.275.



48.12

1894

East Aisle and Apprentice Pillar

Inscribed 'Rosslyn - Thomas Ross' and author's monogram

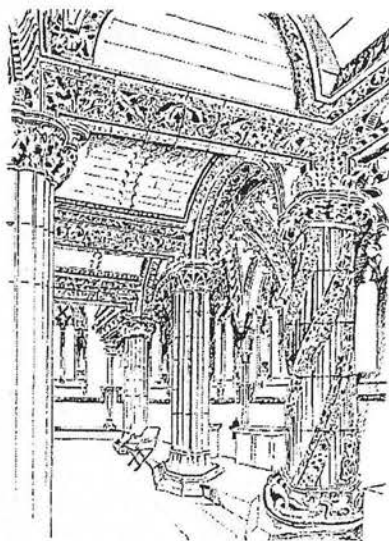
Pen and pencil, 38.2 x 28cm

Published as fig.1081, vol.3, p.164

Library reference: MS. 692, no.256.

48.12.a Touched proof same size as ink drawing, signed with monogram and dated 19 August 1894

Library reference: MS. 692, no.257.



48.13

1894

View of the Lady Chapel

Inscribed 'Rosslyn Thomas Ross' and author's monogram

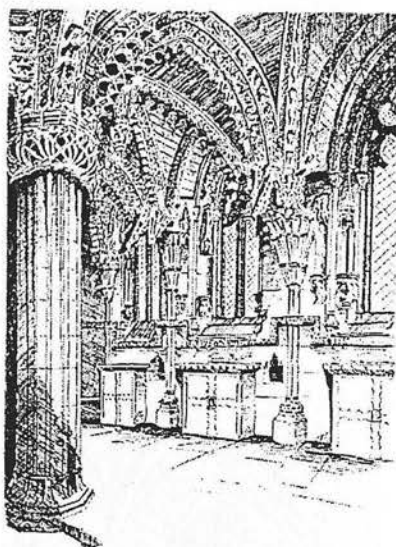
Pen over pencil on paper, 37.8 x 27.8cm

Published as fig.1083, vol.3, p.166

Library reference: MS 692, no.258.

48.13.a Touched proof same size as ink drawing, signed 'Thomas Ross' and dated 1894

Library reference: MS. 692, no.259.



48.14

1895

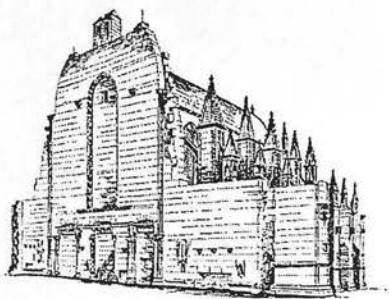
West end and east wall of transepts

Inscribed on verso: 'On the church roofs of the N.S and aisles there . . . *income* the *engraving* but in a complete state, the one limb of the crown *remains* along the crown of the church and the other down from this on each aisle. But on the N. and S. aisles 3 westmost-bays from the drawings the *engraving* is only contained along the crown of the arch the other limb being another'; author's monogram and dated 5 Oct. 1895.

Pencil, touched proof 38 x 28cm

Published as fig.1084, vol.3, p.168

Library reference: MS. 692, no.240.



48.15

c.1895

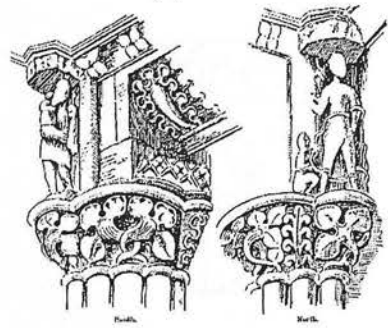
Caps of Openings to Choir

Inscribed with pencil 'Rosslyn'

Pen and pencil, 19 x 27cm

Published as fig.1085, vol.3, p.169

Library reference: MS. 692, no.265.



48.16

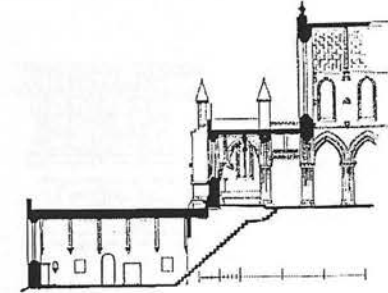
c.1895

Section through east end of the Chapel and the Crypt

Pen and pencil, part of paper sheet size 75.5 x 56cm.

Published as fig.1086, vol.3, p.170

Library reference: MS. 692, no.275.



48.16.a Pen touched proof size 28 x 38.5cm

Library reference: MS. 692, no.274.

48.17

c.1894

Lower Chapel or Sacristy, looking West.

Inscribed 'Rosslyn - Thomas Ross'

Pen and pencil, 38 x 28cm

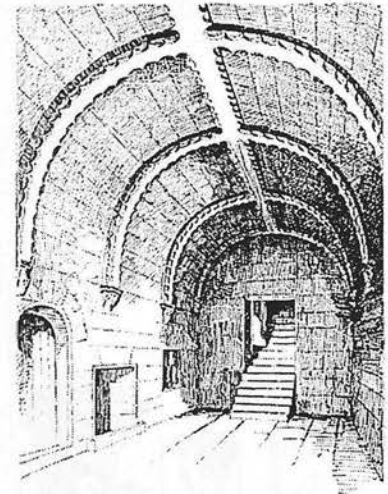
Published as fig.1087, vol.3, p.171

Library reference: MS. 692, no.263.

48.17.a Touched proof same size as ink drawing, signed

Library reference: MS. 692, no.264.

[note] At the top-right side of this drawing there is a pencil proof drawing for *The Arms of Sir William Sinclair's First Wife* inscribed 'at E. Window' (published as fig.1088, see cat. no.48.18) a description of the same is on the recto of the paper. On the verso of this drawing there is another study of Chapel's plan and note regarding 'a Locker next E. gable and then a fine piscina'.



48.18

c.1894

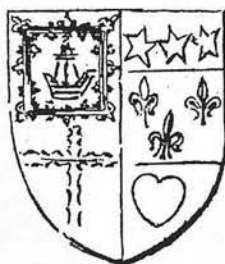
Coat of Arms of Sir William Sinclair's First Wife

Pen and pencil, 14.7 x 13cm

Published as fig.1088, vol.3, p.172

Library reference: MS. 692, no.270.

[note] A pencil sketch of the same coat of arms is on MS. 692, no.264 (see cat.48.17.a).



48.19

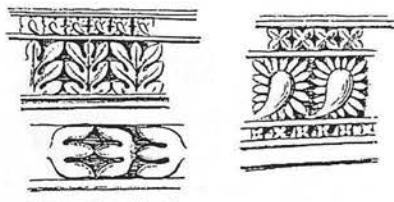
c.1894

Details of carving of straight arches; corbels in Crypt

Pen and pencil, 28 x 19cm

Published as figg.1082, 1089, vol.3, p.165, 172

Library reference: MS. 692, no.266.



48.20

c.1894

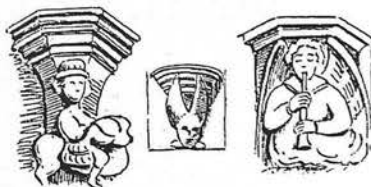
Corbels on window jambs and buttresses

Pen and pencil, 19.7 x 28.6cm.

Published as fig.1090, vol.3, p.174

Library reference: MS. 692, no.268.

[note] For the central image see MS. 692, no.266.



48.21

c.1894

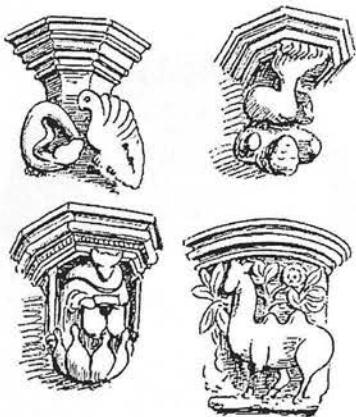
Details of Corbels.

Inscribed with pen 'Rosslyn corbels of Niches'

Pen and pencil, 28 x 19cm

Published as fig.1092, vol.3, p.176

Library reference: MS. 692, no.268.



48.22

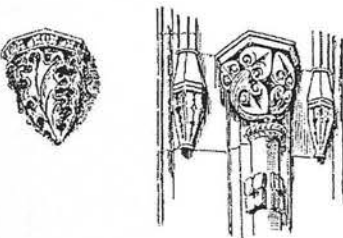
c.1894

Corbel and niche detail

Pen and pencil, 19.6 x 28cm

Published as fig.1093, vol.3, p.177

Library reference: MS. 692, no.267.



48.23

c.1894

Carved slab over entrance to vault

Inscribed with pen: 'Height of Figure 5/2 – Rosslyn - Thomas Ross'

Pen and pencil, 38 x 28.2cm

Published as fig.1094, vol.3, p.178

Library reference: MS. 692, no.269.



Monument to George, Fourth Earl of Caithness

Pen and pencil, 19 x 28cm

Published as fig.1095, vol.3, p.179

Library reference: MS. 692, no.243, top part of the drawing.



48.24.a Touched proof size 28.4 x 20.7cm, singed with monogram and inscribed "Rosslyn George Earl of Caithness died 1582 - - Thomas Ross"

Library reference: MS. 692, no.271.

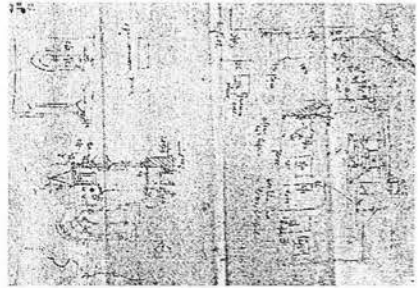
48.24.b Another pencil proof copy same size as the ink drawing, singed with monogram and dated 18th April 1891

Library reference: MS. 692, no.272.

48.25

c.1895

Survey drawings of the Chapel: Section to the Crypt, piscina and pinnacle on the verso a pencil sketch of the section through the Lady Chapel and the carved slab over entrance to vault.



Pencil, 28 x 38.7cm.

Library reference: MS. 692, no.273.

48.26

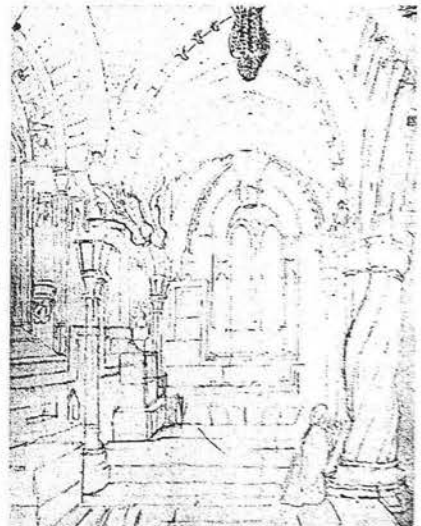
c.1895

View of the Lady Chapel

Pencil drawing very similar to the Lithograph published by John Lessels in the *The Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland*, Session 1862-1863. Ross did not publish this image. There is an attempt of starting it as an ink drawing, but only the pendant boss has been redrawn by pen. The Apprentice Pillar is out of proportion with the rest of the image.

Pen and pencil, 28 x 38.7cm

Library reference: MS. 692, no.260.

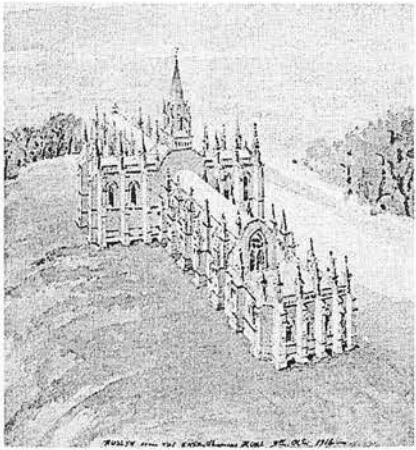


48.27

1914

Aerial perspective view of the Chapel from south-east as it might have been when completed

Inscribed: 'Roslyn from the east – Thomas Ross'
Pencil, grey and blue washes, 22.5 x 25.5cm
Library reference: MS. 692, no.237.

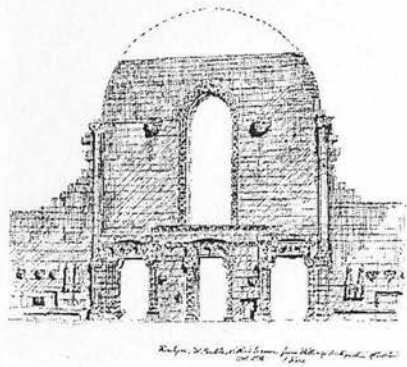


48.28

1914

Visualisation of west end of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn, West Gable on Road Screen, from Billings Antiquities of Scotland, Oct. 1914. T.Ross'
Pen and pencil, 32 x 21.5cm
Library reference: MS. 692, no.251 recto.

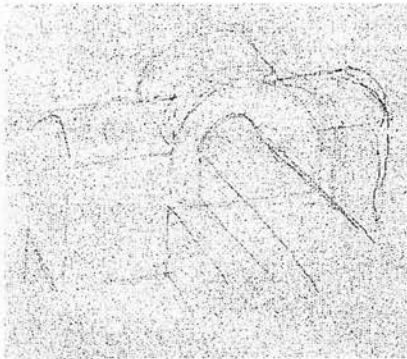


48.29

1914

Visualisation of transept if ever completed

Pencil, 32 x 21.5cm
Library reference: MS 692, no.251 verso.



ANONYMOUS

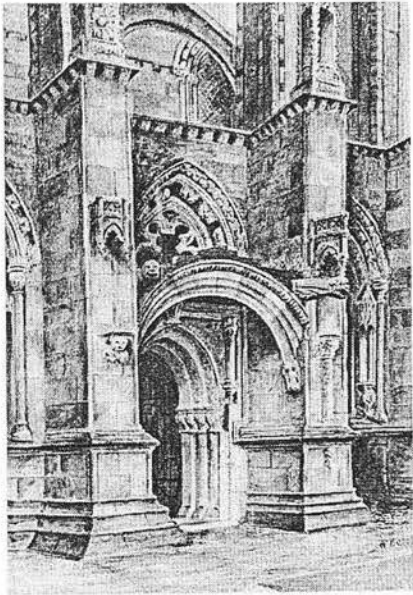
This watercolour in the Rosslyn collection seems to have been painted on the base of a ‘diagonal view’ photograph of the south porch. The painter in fact depicted the buttresses in a distorted manner like it would be seen through an early twenty century camera lens.

49

c.1900

View of the south porch of the Chapel

Watercolour, 43 x 57 cm (sight); 65 x 77 cm (framed)
Private Collection [Rosslyn].



ALEXANDER NASMYTH 1758-1840

Painter in oil of portraits and landscapes, Nasmyth was the son of a master builder involved in the building of George square in Edinburgh. He attended some classes at the Trustees' Academy before moving to London to work in Allan Ramsay's studio. He returned to Edinburgh in 1778 where he began to paint full-length portraits and family groups.

One of his patrons was Patrick Miller of Dalswinton who helped finance Nasmyth's visit to Italy which lasted from 1782 to 1784. Italy made a lasting impression on Nasmyth who visited Florence, Bologna, Padua and Rome. His early landscapes are based upon Italian Seicento principles with a series of *repoussoirs* and framing trees or buildings to take the eye into distance. He continued to paint Italian subjects right up to his death, presumably reworking drawings made in Italy, but the majority of his landscapes were of Scotland. At some stage between 1785 and 1792 he opened a landscape school at his Edinburgh house at 47 York Place. He insisted upon drawing as a basic skill and took his pupils on sketching trips to Rosslyn Chapel, Castle and Glen. (see *Halsby/Harris, McEwan and Turner*)

50

1789

Rosslyn Castle and Chapel

Oil on canvas, 70.5 x 92cm
Private Collection [Derricott].



LOUIS JACQUES MANDÉ DAGUERRE 1789-1851

Long before his experiments with photography and the daguerreotype, Daguerre was famous for his Diorama – an exhibition of enormous paintings with changing lighting and appropriate sound effects, which enjoyed immense popularity in Paris and London. Rosslyn Chapel offered an ideal subject for one of these. An important only visual record to survive of the gigantic – 22 x 14 meters - Rosslyn Diorama is a painting which was on display at the Paris Salon in 1824. The whole canvas displays astonishing ‘photographic’ detail, lighting, and perspective treatment. (see *Bryan*)

51

1824

Roslyn Chapel, effect of Sun

Inscribed: ‘Daguerre 1824’

Oil on canvas, 113 x 97cm

Private Collection [De Louvencourt - Paris].



REVD JOHN THOMSON OF DUDDINGSTON 1778-1840

The son of a Reverend Thomson of Dailly in Ayrshire, he studied theology at Glasgow University from 1791 to 1792 moving to Edinburgh University in 1793. While still studying, he received some lessons in art from Alexander Nasmyth. In 1800 he was ordained and in 1805 moved to the village of Duddingston near Duddingston Loch by Arthur’s Seat. It was here that his reputation as landscape oil painter flourished. In 1818 Thomson was commissioned to produce eleven plates for Scott’s text to *Provincial Antiquities*. (see *McEwan* and *D.N.B.*)

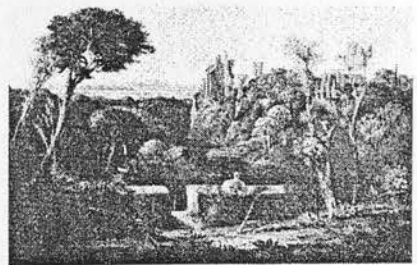
52

1830

Roslyn Castle and Chapel

Oil on panel, 34.2 x 46.3 cm

Whereabouts unknown



GEORGE CATTERMOLLE 1800-1868

This view from the south aisle with figure and lectern catches both the appearance of the mediaeval church and the pre-Victorian restoration atmosphere. Cattermole's oil painting provides a new hypothesis not previously noted in the history of building, for the existence of some form of screening between the nave and the aisle. The wall on which the artist adds a piscina taken from one of the Chapel entrances, is part of his fictional depiction [see also cat.25 and 77].

53

c.1835

Rosslyn Chapel with lectern and seated figure

Oil on millboard, 27.7 x 22.8cm
Sheffield City Museum and Mappin Art Gallery, Ref.
Graves Gift 1937, no. 550.



DAVID ROBERTS 1796-1864

According to Roberts the Apprentice Pillar ‘formed a conspicuous object.’ In four identified oil paintings of the Chapel, two of which remain untraced, it is clear that the prime intention of the work was to give a detailed and accurate delineation of the architecture, but Roberts’s brush and colours also convey the subtle and gentle play of light across the stones and carvings. These oils are also an excellent example of the range of chiaroscuro that Roberts could achieve from blazing sunlight to deepest shadow.

54 1843

View of the Lady Chapel

Oil on canvas, 76.3 x 62.3cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Ref. FA 174.



55 1859

Porch of Roslin Chapel

Oil on canvas, 61 x 46cm
Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.



WILLIAM DYCE 1806-1864

Dyce was painter, etcher, scientist, philosopher, sculptor and designer. He studied medicine and theology while secretly practising art. During the period of 1830-1837 he based himself in Edinburgh and concentrated on portrait painting. In the early 1830s he produced a very distinctive pictorial composition of the south aisle of the Chapel.

56

c.1830

Roslin Chapel, View of South Aisle

Oil on panel 30 x 38cm

Private collection [Cooper].



WILLIAM BEATTIE BROWN 1831-1909

Brown was born in Haddington. He studied at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh, and became a painter of Scottish landscapes. In 1884 he was elected as Academician at the Royal Scottish Academy. His work did not always find favour with critics, but was perennially popular with the art buying public.

57

1857

Roslin, Evening

Oil on canvas, 60 x 91cm (framed size)

Private Collection [Rosslyn].



CHARLES DYCE fl. 1840-1880

William Dyce's (q.v.) younger brother, painted Roslin Chapel in 1847 and, recalling the glory which restoration again brought to mind, dramatised the scene by the inclusion of one monk and a Cromwellian soldier.

Roslin Chapel

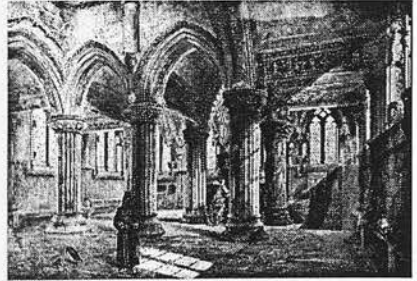
Inscribed on frame: 'Roslin Chapel C. A. Dyce 1847'
 Oil on canvas, 50.2 x 37.9cm
 Private Collection [Campbell-Fraser].

**JOHN LESSELS 1808 1883**

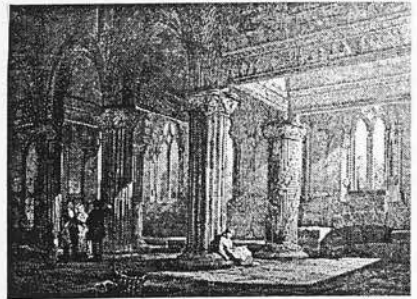
John Lessels was an Edinburgh architect and painter. In the late Victorian period he designed many highly successful urban plans and residences. Lessels, on several occasions in his career as a planner, decided to escape from the rigorous rules of his work in order to enjoy painting at the Chapel. He exhibited seven oil paintings of the Chapel at the annual exhibitions of the Royal Scottish Academy from 1847 to 1866. Unfortunately the following two catalogue entries are still untraced.

Interior view of Roslin Chapel with figures

Inscribed 'John Lessels 1863'
 Oil on canvas, missing size
 Whereabouts unknown.

*Interior view of the Chapel from the south aisle*

Oil painting attributed to John Lessels
 Whereabouts unknown.



John Slezer's view of Kingston Chapel is the earliest visual record of the building. Drawn first in 1697, it appears in the *Itinerarium* (1698) as a wood print, intended for the early topographical publications of Thomas Blount. Slezer's sketch was to depict the ruins of the abbey of the Kingdom of Scotland. The view is oriented in the top right corner with a distant, hazy landscape of the English coast in the distance. The text accompanying the drawing was provided by the antiquarian Sir Robert Atkyn, with who Slezer was made Royal Geographer in Scotland by Charles II.

The engraving reproduces the south side of the Chapel. The state of the architecture compared to when the Chapel and the surrounding waters, which are, indeed, certainly suggests that it was added at a later stage. Slezer himself claims that the perspective was embellished by figures added 'presumably in the field drawings' by his 'work' the *Itinerarium*. It was however at this time a common practice for different artists to paint landscapes and have the figures drawn later by engravers.

Slezer's proposal of the Chapel is taken from a map made in 1697, which was a map of the area in 1697. This may be accompanied by the engraving of the chapel, which is the first in the series of the *Itinerarium*.

Copper and steel engravings, etchings and woodcuts 1693-1923

The engraving of the Chapel is taken from a map made in 1697, which was a map of the area in 1697. This may be accompanied by the engraving of the chapel, which is the first in the series of the *Itinerarium*. The engraving of the Chapel is taken from a map made in 1697, which was a map of the area in 1697. This may be accompanied by the engraving of the chapel, which is the first in the series of the *Itinerarium*. The engraving of the Chapel is taken from a map made in 1697, which was a map of the area in 1697. This may be accompanied by the engraving of the chapel, which is the first in the series of the *Itinerarium*.

JOHN SLEZER c.1645-1717

JOHN SLEZER c.1645-1717

John Slezer's engraving of the Chapel is the first in the series of the *Itinerarium*. The engraving of the Chapel is taken from a map made in 1697, which was a map of the area in 1697. This may be accompanied by the engraving of the chapel, which is the first in the series of the *Itinerarium*. The engraving of the Chapel is taken from a map made in 1697, which was a map of the area in 1697. This may be accompanied by the engraving of the chapel, which is the first in the series of the *Itinerarium*.

JOHN SLEZER c.1645-1717

Capitan John Slezer's view of Rosslyn Chapel is the earliest visual record of the building. Issued first in 1693, it appeared in the *Theatrum Scotiae*, a work greatly admired for the early topographical delineations of Scottish townships. Slezer's project was to depict the seats of the nobility of the Kingdom of Scotland. The plate is inscribed in the top right corner with a dedication. Later editions of the work have no dedication. The text accompanying the images was provided by the eminent historian Sir Robert Sibbald who was made Royal Geographer in Scotland by Charles II.

The engraving represents the south side of the Chapel. The scale of the embellishments compared in scale to the Chapel and the surrounding scenery, which they inhabit, certainly suggests their being added at a later stage. Slezer himself claims that the prospectus was embellished by figures added - presumably to the final drawings- by Mr Wyck the Battle painter. It was however at this time a common practice for different artists to paint landscapes and have the figures inserted later by someone else.

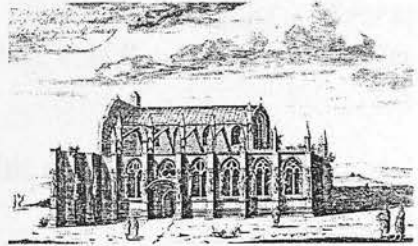
Slezer's prospect of the Chapel is taken from a high point or rising ground which does not exist in reality. This may be demonstrated by the perspective of the colonnettes which frame the door indicating that the eye level is fairly high. (see *D.N.B* or *Cavers*)

61

1693

Capella de Rosslin, from Theatrum Scotiae

Inscribed: 'Capella de Rosslin. The Chappell of Rosslin
-54 - This Plate is Most humble inscrib to y^e Hon.^{ble}
George Baillie of Jerveswood Esq.^r one of y^e Lords
Commissioners of y^e Treasury'
Copper engraving, 32 x 42cm
Book reference: plate 54.

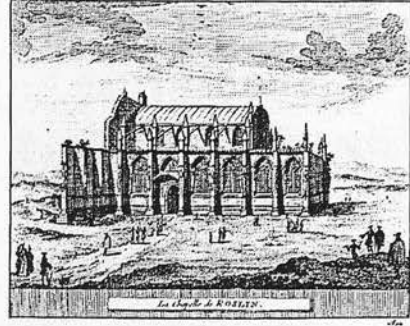


HILLEBRAND VAND DER AA 1659-1721 after JOHN SLEZER c.1645-1717

Capitan John Slezer's images of Scotland were re-used and reissued for over one hundred years. On the expiry of Slezer's royal licence in 1707, the Dutch publishing house of Van der Aa reproduced the majority of his prospects in a reduced format. These plates were published in four different books between 1707 and 1727. Slezer himself may not have made any useful profits from his plates, but after his death in 1717 other publishers certainly did. In the Dutch version of the Rosslyn Chapel plate has an inscription in French. (see *Bryan* or *Cavers*)

South side view of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'La Chapelle de Roslin – Aa'
Copper engraving, 12.5 x 15.9cm
Private Collection [Maggi-Checchini].



ANDREW BELL 1726-1809

Andrew Bell was associated with William Smellie (1740-1795), the founder of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and ultimately became the sole proprietor of that great Edinburgh publication. Bell learned the art of engraving from Richard Cooper (c.1730-1764) to whom he was apprenticed. His work consisted mainly of book illustrations. Bell is said to have begun his artistic career by engraving names and crests on plates and dog collars, but he soon progressed far beyond that amassing a fortune as a result of his speculation in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Bell's engraving *An inside Perspective View of the Chapel of Roslin* is the earliest engraved view of the interior of the Chapel. The engraving was an accompanying plate to *The Account of the Chapel* (1761) by Robert Forbes published in the January issue of *The Edinburgh Magazine*.

The Chapel is also shown in another plate drawn by Bell representing a *View of Roslin Castle from the South* in Forbes's account. (see *D.N.B.* and *Kay's Portraits*, vol.I)

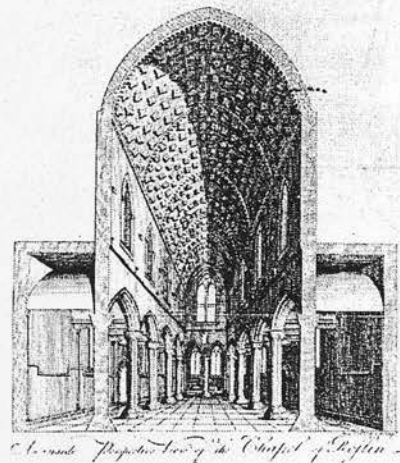
[63] Engravings by Bell in Forbes's Account of the Chapel.

63.1

1761

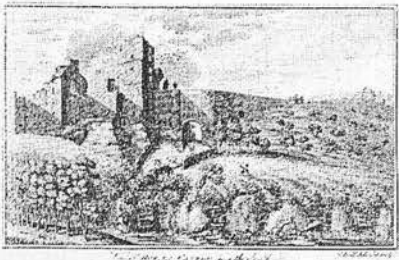
Diagrammatic section and interior perspective view

Inscribed: 'An inside Perspective View of the Chapel of Roslin' and 'And.r Bell Delin.' et sculp.'
Copper engraving, 25.1 x 20 x cm
E.C.L. reference n. 5318.



View of the Castle and Chapel from south-east

Inscribed: 'View of Roslin Castle from the south –
A.Bell delin.¹ et sculp.¹'
Copper engraving, 9.5 x 15.5cm
E.C.L. reference n. 2694.

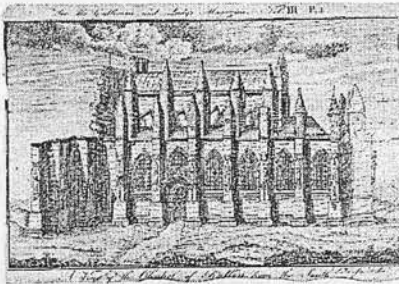


JAMES JOHNSTON fl. 1745-1780

Johnson's image while of little artistic merit is of considerable interest since it records the appearance of John Baxter's roof over the Lady Chapel and the side aisles some forty years after its construction.

South side view of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'A view of the Chapel of Roslin from the
South – J. Johnson Delin.¹ – For the Gentleman and
Lady's Magazine, Vol III, P.1'
Copper engraving, 11.3 x 18cm
E.C.L., reference n. 5310.



FRANCIS GROSE 1731-1791

In 1788 and 1789 the engraver Thomas Sparrow (*fl.*1765-1790) was engaged by Capitan Francis Grose to produce a number of copper plates for his noted work, *The Antiquities of Scotland*. As Grose was accompanied by the amateur etcher Adam de Cardonnel (*d.*1820) for at least some part of his tour, he was well advised on the artistic aspects of the places he visited. This very fine vista of the Chapel and the Castle from north-east was to become the most favourite point of view for the Picturesque painters. Two figures are seen in the foreground and to the left a plantation of trees gives a rural touch to the scene. (see *Butchart*)

65

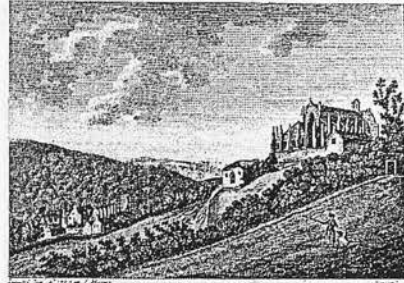
1789

South side view of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel & Castle – Published Jan. 9th 1789 by S. Hooper – Sparrow Sc.'

Copper engraving, 12.5 x 17.7cm

Book reference: vol.1, plate facing p.43.



JAMES STEWART 1791-1863 after PATRICK GIBSON 1782-1829

Robert Forsyth (1766-1846) was a Scottish writer, who, after obtaining license as probationer of the Church of Scotland, turned to literature and managed to make a living by writing for booksellers. The work by which he is best known is *The Beauties of Scotland*, which was issued in two volumes between 1805 and 1808, and which is still held in some repute, not only for the value of its information, but also for the many engravings depicting Scottish towns and places of interest. The picturesque view of Rosslyn Chapel for this publication was drawn by the landscape painter Patrick Gibson. (see *D.N.B.* or *Bryan*)

66

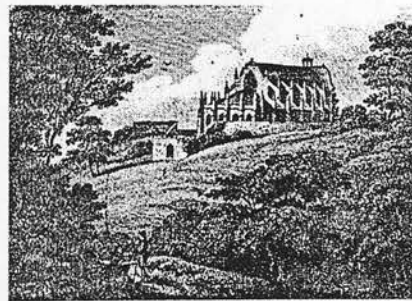
1806

North east view of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Drawn by P.Gibson – Engraved by J.Stewart, Roslin Chapel Midlothianshire, London published by Vernor and Hood Poutry, Feb.,1806.'

Copper engraving, 8.4 x 11.6cm

Book reference: vol.I, plate facing p.314.



ELIZABETH LEVESON GOWER 1765–1839

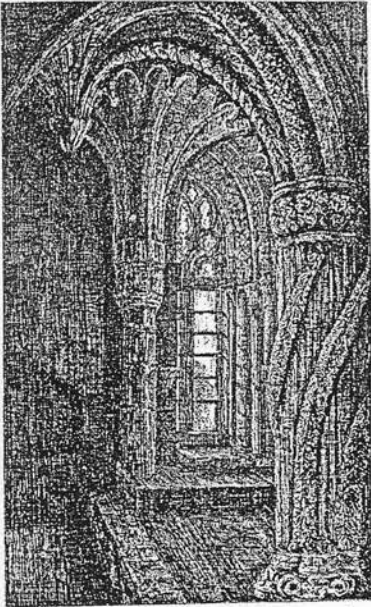
Elizabeth, Duchess of Sutherland, was the daughter of William seventeenth Earl of Sutherland. She married Earl Gower, afterwards Marquis of Stafford and first Duke of Sutherland. As a talented painter-etcher, she made many views of scenes in the north of Scotland and published them privately in 1809. The work entitled *Views in Orkney and on the North Eastern Coast of Scotland Taken in 1805 and etched in 1807* includes (rather illogically, considering its title) three views of Rosslyn Chapel. (For her life, see *The Scots Peerage*, London 1911, viii, pp.359-362; and *Bushnell*) The work contains also an idealised etching of the Tomb of Sir William Sinclair [plate 41] not catalogued with the following items.

[67] Etchings by the Duchess of Sutherland in *Views in Orkney*.

67.1 1807

Interior view of the Lady Chapel

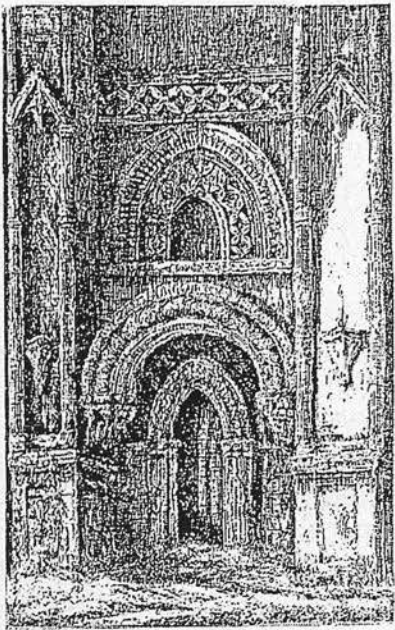
Inscribed with monogram: 'Column in Rosslyn Chapel'
Etching, 19 x 12cm
Book reference: plate [39].



Column in Rosslyn Chapel

South side view of the Chapel

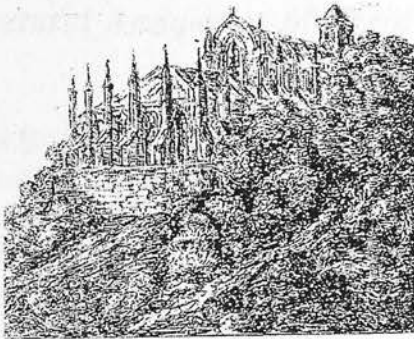
Inscribed with monogram : ‘Doorway in Rosslyn Chapel’
Etching, 18.3 x 11.5cm
Book reference: plate [40].



Doorway in Rosslyn Chapel

East end view of the Chapel

Inscribed with monogram: ‘Rosslyn Chapel’
Etching, 5.2 x 6.3cm
Book reference: plate [38].



Rosslyn Chapel

**JOHN BURNETT 1748-1868, SAMUEL LACEY fl.1808-1820,
HENRY LE KEUX 1787-1836, SAMUEL NOBLE 1779-1835,
JOHN ROFFE 1769-1850, RICHARD ROFFE fl.1806-1835,
WILLIAM WOOLNOTH 1785-1836,
after JAMES ELMES 1782-1862 and JOSEPH MICHAEL GANDY
1771-1843**

All of the engravers and draughtsmen, listed above, were part of the team of artists employed on the authoritative work *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* assembled by the architectural publisher and antiquarian John Britton (1771-1857). Between 1807 and 1826, Britton published five volumes of this work which incorporated ground plans, elevations and scrupulously drawn details as well as intelligent and informative texts, and which transformed the study of medieval architecture. It seems probable that the fame which Gandy achieved at the Royal Academy of London with a painting depicting an interior view of Rosslyn Chapel, brought him to the attention of Britton, who invited him to draw the fourteen plates of the Chapel for the third volume of the *Architectural Antiquities*. (see *D.N.B* and *Turner*)

[68] Engravings in John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*.

It is important to note that two of the Rosslyn plates [cat.68.4, 68.5] were drawn by the architect and architectural writer James Elmes after Joseph Michael Gandy's sketches.

68.1

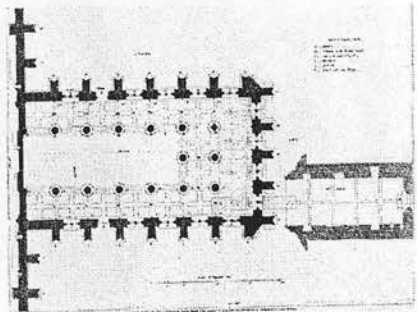
1812

Plan of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel, Ground Plan - Engraved by R.^d Roffe, from a drawing by Joseph Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'

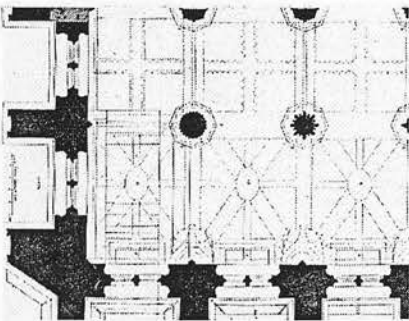
Steel engraving, 18.8 x 25cm

Book reference: vol.III, plate I.



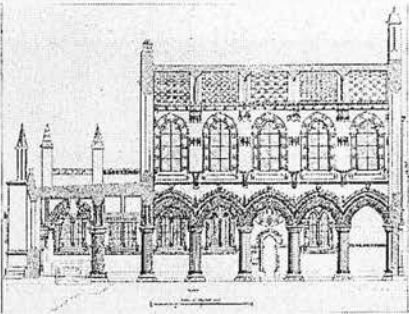
Ground plan of the south east part of the Lady Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. Ground plan of Columns, Wall &c. at the East End. Engraved by R.^d Roffe, from a drawing by Joseph Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'
Steel engraving, 18.7 x 24.6cm
Book reference: vol.III, plate II.



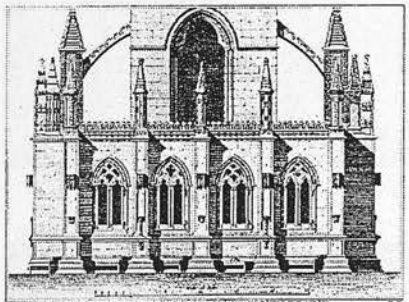
East-west section of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel, Section of the South side of the Choir &c. - Engraved by R.^d Roffe, from a drawing by Joseph Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'
Steel engraving, 18.1 x 24cm
Book reference: vol.III, plate III.



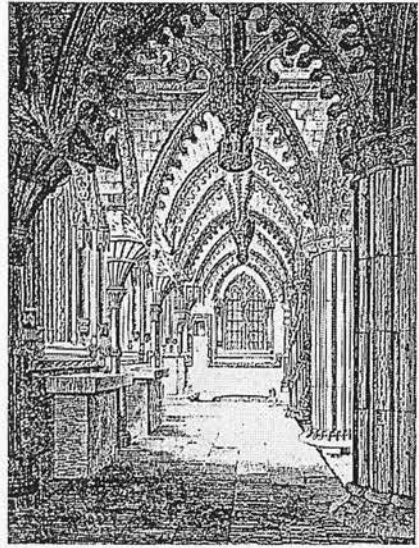
Elevation of the east end

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. Elevation of the East end. - Etch.^d by J.Roffe, from a drawing by Ja.s Elmes Esq.^r Architect, after sketches by Jos. Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'
Steel engraving, 16.8 x 22.5cm
Book reference: vol.III, plate IV.



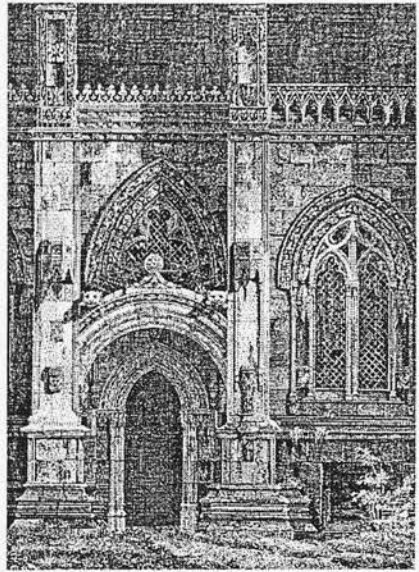
View of the east end, looking south

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. View of the Altars &c. at the East end, looking North [sic]. To Robert Jamieson Esq.r this plate is inscribed by his sincere Friend John Britton. – Etch.^d by Sam.^l Lacey, from a drawing by Ja.s Elmes Esq.^r Architect, after sketches by Jos. Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'
Steel engraving, 20.3 x 15.3cm
Book reference: vol.III, plate V.



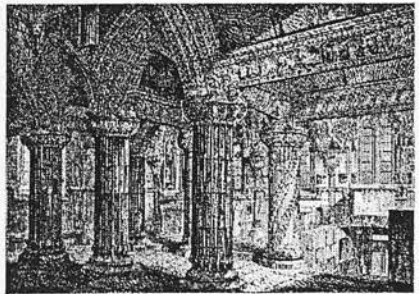
View of the south porch

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel, Elevation of part of the South side. To Alexander Walker, Esq.r Lecturer on Philosophy &c., & Editor of *Archives & Review of Universal Science*, this plate is inscribed by John Britton - Engraved by J.Burnett, from a drawing by Joseph Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'
Steel engraving, 21 x 15.5cm
Book reference: vol.III, plate VI.



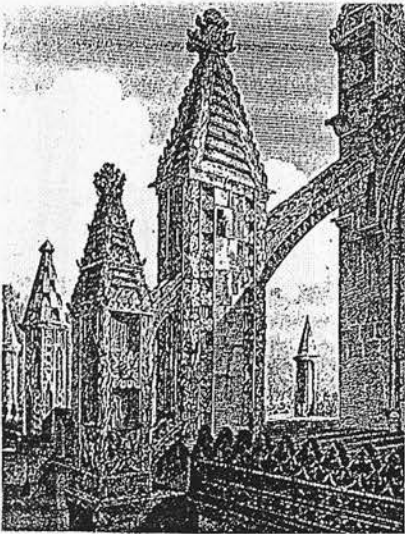
Interior view of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. To Walter Scott Esq.^r whose various poetical & critical writings evince much Genius & Knowledge, this plate is inscribed by J.Britton. - Engraved by J.Burnett, from a drawing by Joseph Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'
Steel engraving, 15.6 x 21.8cm
Book reference: vol.III, plate VII.



View of the pinnacles and flying buttresses at north

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. View of Buttresses, Pinnacles &c. at the N.E. corner. To Richard Westall, Esq.^r R.A. whose various Paintings of Mythological & Poetical subjects are justly esteemed by many eminent connoisseurs & equally admired by his obedient servant J.Britton. Engraved by W.^m Woolnoth, from a drawing by Joseph Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'
Steel engraving, 20.1 x 15.3cm
Book reference: vol.III, plate VIII.



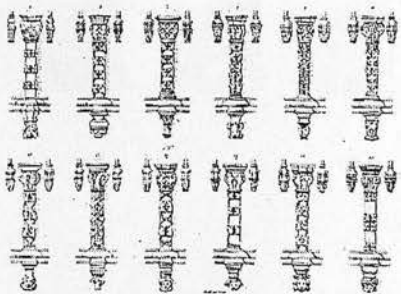
View of boss in the Lady Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. View of a Pendant, Groins &c. at the east end. To William Burdon Esq.^r who has manifested a laudable zeal in behalf of Architectural remains of England, this plate is inscribed as a pledge of esteem by the Author. - Engraved by S.Noble, from a drawing by Joseph Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'
Steel engraving, 20.8 x 15.7cm
Book reference: vol.III, plate IX.



Details of the pedestal columns in the buttresses

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. Pedestal columns &c. in the Buttresses - Etch.^d by J.Roffe, from sketches by J. Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'
Steel engraving, 17.8 x 24.2cm
Book reference: vol.III, plate X.

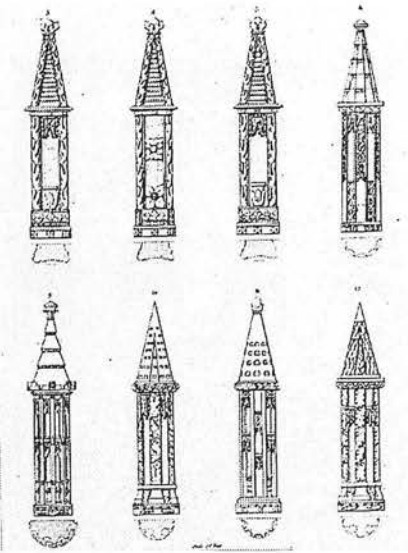


Elevation of the pinnacles at the east end

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. Pinnacles - Etch.^d by J.Roffe, from sketches by Jos. Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'

Steel engraving, 23.6 x 17.8cm

Book reference: vol.III, plate XI (misnumbered plate XIV).

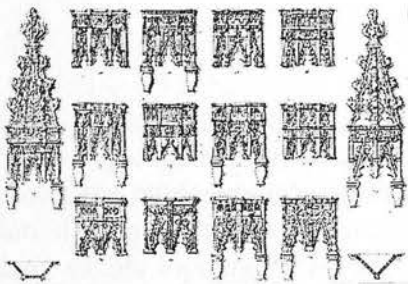


Details of canopies in the buttresses

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. Canopies in the Buttresses. Etch.^d by Hen. Le Keux, from sketches by Jos. Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'

Steel engraving, 17 x 24.5cm

Book reference: vol.III, plate XII.

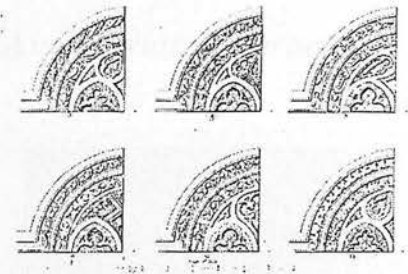


Tracery details of six windows

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. Tracery and Mouldings of six windows - Etch.^d by J. Roffe, from sketches by Jos. Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'

Steel engraving, 16 x 21.8cm

Book reference: vol.III, plate XIII.

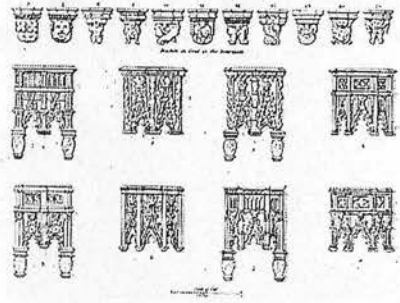


Details of canopies and brackets in the buttresses

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. Canopies & Brackets in the Buttresses. Etch.^d by J.Roffe, from sketches by Jos. Gandy Esq.^r Architect & A.R.A. for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain'

Steel engraving, 17 x 22.4cm

Book reference: vol.III, plate XIV.



**THOMAS HIGHAM 1769-1844, JOHN GREIG fl.1800-1840 and
EDWARD JOHN ROBERTS 1797-1865
after LUKE CLENNELL 1781-1840**

Luke Clennell's views of Roslyn Chapel, reproduced as engravings in Storer's *Antiquarian Itinerary* (1816), aspire to imbue antiquarian documentation with the mystical symbolism of the building. Clennell was among the numerous artists who specialised in topographical drawings for antiquarian illustrated treatises, among them the *Border Antiquities* (1814-17) by Scott. Many of his topographical large scale paintings served as prototypical models that could be modified beyond their function as architectural records towards the more popular views for a less scholarly-minded audience. Clennell's compositions are generally competent but the prints lack finesse and appear to have excited little critical attention. (see *Butchart*)

[69] Engravings in James Sargent Storer's *Antiquarian Itinerary*

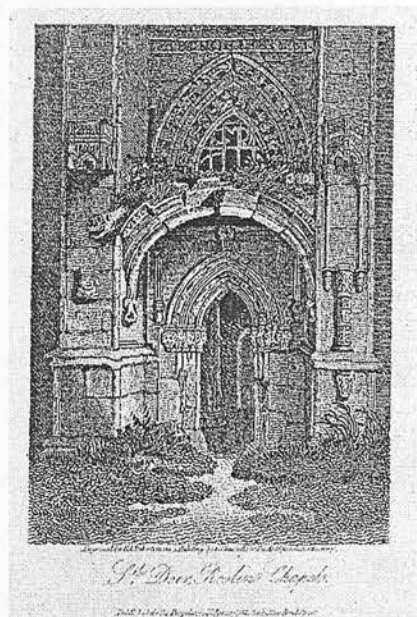
South porch of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'South Door Roslin Chapel – Engraved by E.I.Roberts from a painting by L. Clennell for the Antiquarian Itinerary'

Copper engraving, 8.5 x 6cm

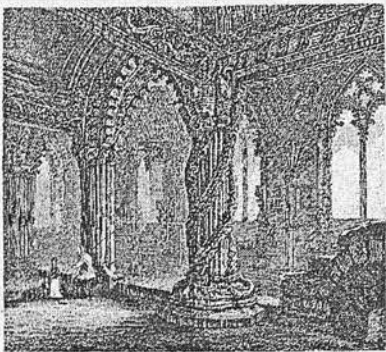
Album 'Documents': f.60.

[N.B.] The following items are catalogued from the Album 'Documents' due to the fact that the three plates are missing from the National Library of Scotland copy of the *Antiquarian Itinerary*.



Lady Chapel's view with the Apprentice Pillar

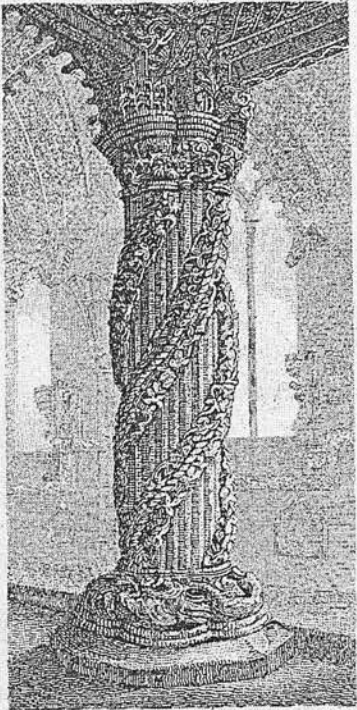
Inscribed: 'Interior of Roslin Chapel, Edinburghshire -
Engraved by T.Higham from a painting by L. Clennell
for the Antiquarian Itinerary'
Copper engraving, 6 x 7.5cm
Album 'Documents': f.59.



Interior of Roslin Chapel, Edinburghshire.

The Apprentice Pillar

Inscribed: 'Ornamental Pillar Roslin Chapel – Engraved
by J.Greig for the Antiquarian Itinerary'
Copper engraving, 10 x 5cm
Album 'Documents': f.57.



Ornamental Pillar, Roslin Chapel.

JAMES STORER 1781-1853
and HENRY SARGANT STORER d.1837

In 1822 a collection of engraved views was issued by James and Henry Sargent Storer entitled *Views in Edinburgh and its vicinity . . . Exhibiting Remains of Antiquity, Public Buildings and Picturesque Scenery*. The publishers were A. Constable and Co. A lengthy preface on the history of Edinburgh and Midlothian serves as an introduction to the actual prints, which include two illustrations of the Chapel. The Rosslyn prints by Storer, while of considerable importance from a topographic point of view, are in themselves a trifle formal and rather lacking in human interest. An interesting comparison can be made with the plate representing the south porch [cat.70.1] and the same subject depicted by Luke Clenell for the *Antiquarian Itinerary* [cat.69.1]. (see *Butchart and Bryan*)

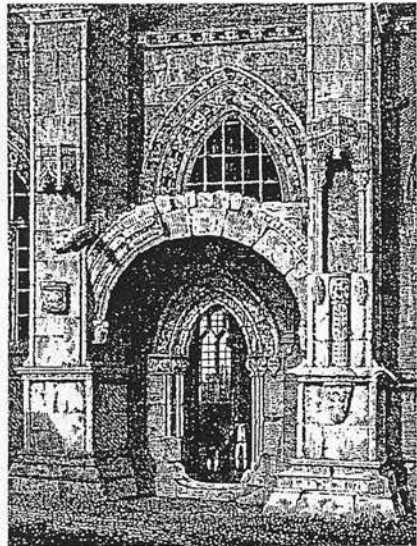
[70] Engravings in *Views in Edinburgh and its vicinity* by Storer.

70.1

1822

South porch of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel South door'
 Copper engraving, 9.6 x 7.3cm.
 Book reference: vol.II, p.74 verso.



70.2

1822

View of the interior, looking towards the Apprentice Pillar

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel S. east end'
 Copper engraving, 10 x 7.3cm
 Book reference: vol.II, p.76 verso.



ROBERT HAVELL fl.1812-1837

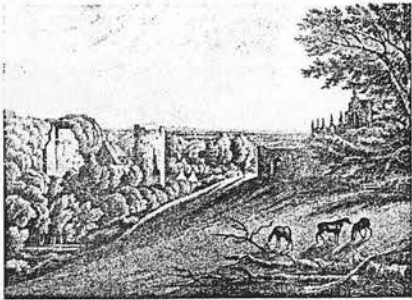
Havell was a well known as an artist working in aquatint in the early nineteenth century. In his view of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel the two monuments are clearly used to build up the composition of the aquatint. Horses are represented beneath the Chapel while the Castle emerges from the woods occupying a prominent position. The view extends down the Chapel's hill to the Glen which is faintly worked into the background. The following plate was published in Ravell's *Series of Picturesque Views of Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, with descriptive and historical Accounts* (1814-1823). An unbound copy of the aquatint is kept in the E.C.L. Print Room. (see *Russel*)

71

c.1823

North east view of Rosslyn Chapel and Castle

Inscribed: 'Drawn & engraved by R. Havell - Roslin Castle, Roslin Chapel'
Aquatint, 14 x 19cm
E.C.L., reference n. 5344.



THOMAS MANN BAYNES 1794-c.1852

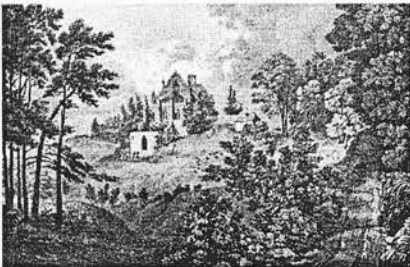
In the early 1820s Baynes was preparing his collection of lithographs entitled *Twenty views of the City and environs of Edinburgh sketches from nature and drawn on stone*, which was issued in London in 1823. Done in careful detail these ‘sketches’ of Rossllyn are very picturesque. It is interesting to note that in the interior view of the Chapel Baynes recorded Walter Scott’s visit to the Chapel in the company of the Wordsworths. The set of lithographs were printed by Charles Joseph Hullmandel (1789-1850), himself a fine engraver of German origin, who made many improvements in the art of lithography and invented the lithotint process. (see *Butchart*)

[72] Lithographs in *Twenty views of the City and environs of Edinburgh* by Baynes.

72.1 1823

East view of the Chapel

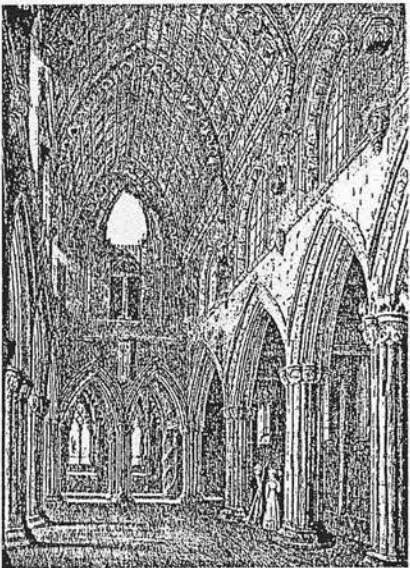
Inscribed: ‘Roslyn Chapel – T.Baynes Lithog. – Printed by C. Hullnandell’
Lithograph, 16.8 x 25.7cm
Book reference, f.[17].



72.2 1823

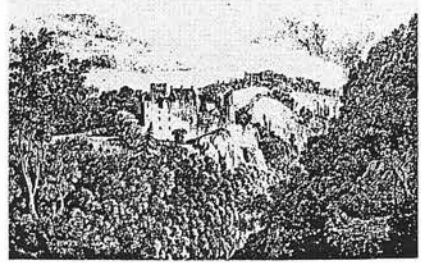
Interior of the Chapel, looking east

Inscribed: ‘Interior of Roslyn Chapel – T.Baynes Lithog. – Printed by C. Hullnandell’
Lithograph, 24.4 x 17.8cm
Book reference, f.[14].



South east view of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel – T.Baynes Lithog. –
Printed by C. Hullnandell'
Lithograph, 16.5 x 17.8cm
Book reference, f.[16].



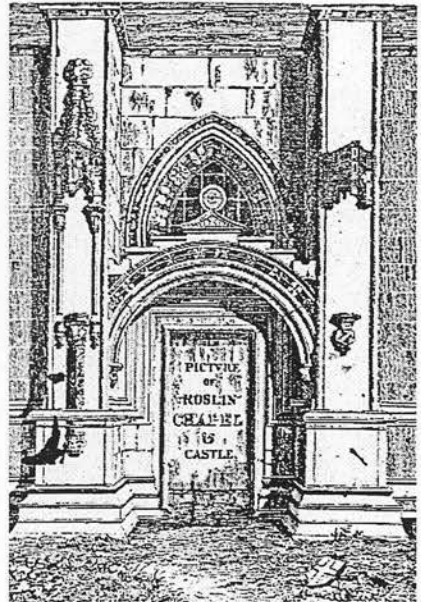
JOHN and JAMES JOHNSTONE fl.1790-1838

John and James Johnstone were Edinburgh engravers presumably with some degree of kinship. They both engraved many bookplates for various artist and writers. In 1825 they published their own *Historical and descriptive account of Rosslyn Chapel and Castle with eight engravings*. Six of the eight engravings contained in the small guide book represent the Chapel. (see *Bushnell*)

[73] Engravings in Johnstone's *Historical and descriptive account of Rosslyn Chapel*.

North Porch of the Chapel – Frontispiece

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel North Door – Plate I /
Drawn & Engraved by J.& J. Johnstone Edinburgh.'
Steel engraving, 11.5 x 8cm
Book reference, plate I.

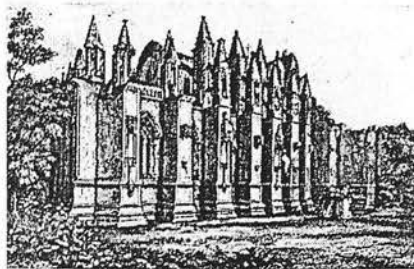


73.2

1825

View of the north side of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel North Front – Plate II /
 Drawn & Engraved by J.& J. Johnstone Edinburgh.'
 Steel engraving 7.2 x 11cm
 Book reference, plate II.

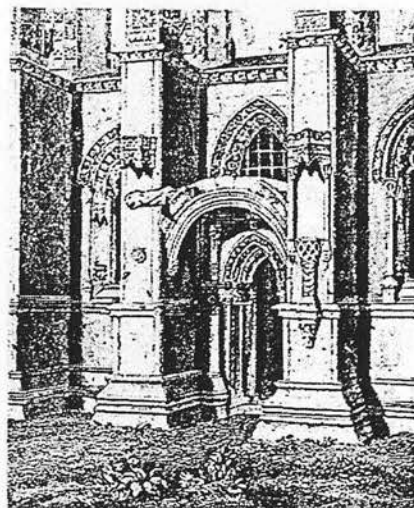


73.3

1825

View of the south porch of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel South Entrance – Plate III /
 Drawn & Engraved by J.& J. Johnstone Edinburgh.'
 Steel engraving 8.6 x 6.8cm
 Book reference, plate III.

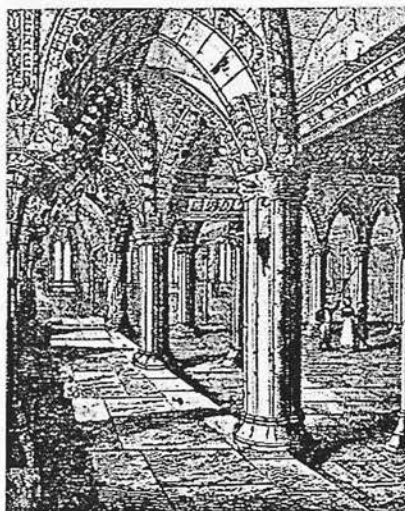


73.4

1825

Interior view from the Lady Chapel

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel Interior of East Chapel –
 Plate IV / Drawn & Engraved by J.& J. Johnstone
 Edinburgh'
 Steel engraving 8.5 x 6.8cm
 Book reference, plate IV.



Interior view from the south aisle, looking towards the Crypt

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel— Plate V / Drawn & Engraved by J.& J. Johnstone Edinburgh'

Steel engraving 6.7 x 8.4cm

Book reference, plate V.

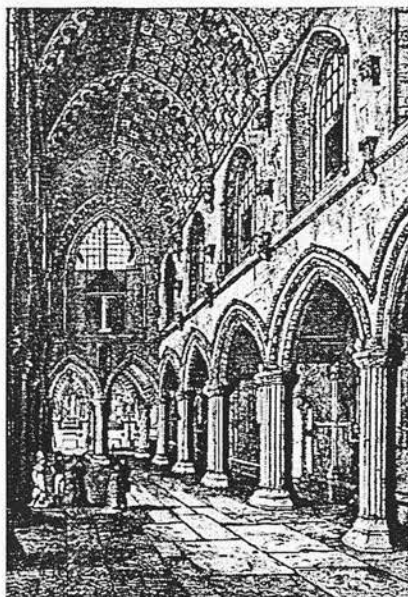


Interior of Choir, looking east.

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel Interior from the West – Plate VI / Drawn & Engraved by J.& J. Johnstone Edinburgh.'

Steel engraving 10.6 x 7.3cm

Book reference, plate VI.



ANONYMOUS

Rosslyn Chapel won international fame as the subject of Daguerre’s renowned Diorama entertainment in London and Paris between 1824 and 1826. An important visual record to survive of the Rosslyn diorama is a woodcut in a magazine of the time, *The Mirror of Literature* for March 1826.

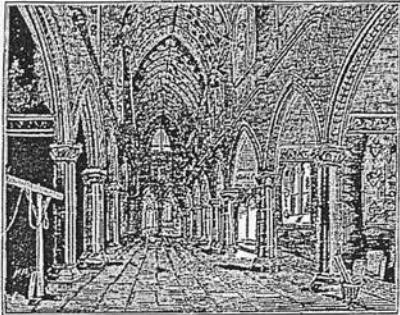
74

1826

View of Roslyn Chapel at the Diorama

Inscribed: as above
Woodcut, 9.5 x 11cm
Reference: *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, No.CLXXXV, Saturday 4 March 1826, p.129.

View of Roslyn Chapel, at the Diorama.



HENRY LE KEUX 1787-1868 and GEORGE COOKE 1781-1834
after EDWARD BLORE 1787-1879

Edward Blore, an English-born architect, had begun his career as an architectural draughtsman, contributing illustrations to numerous topographical works including several volumes of John Britton's ambitious series, *The Cathedral Antiquities of England*, published between 1814 and 1835. In 1818 Sir Walter Scott entered into negotiation with Blore for the illustrations of the *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*: a lavishly illustrated serial, issued in ten parts between 1819 and 1826, before its publication in book form. The work contained a variety of superb engravings of Scottish landmarks and landscapes, accompanied by lively, historical descriptions written by Scott. Blore's contact with the London print trade had secured for this project the leading engravers Cooke and Le Keux. (see *Colvin*)

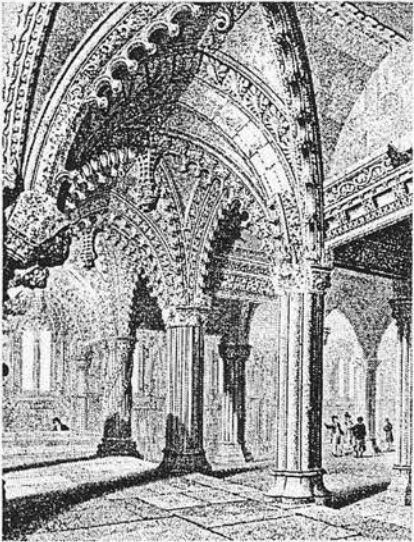
[75] Engravings in Sir Walter Scott's *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*

The architecture of Rosslyn Chapel is well illustrated in the three prints noted below. It is important to note that Blore's interior view of the Choir looking towards the east end, is very similar to the 'Interior of Roslyn Abbey [sic]' which Daguerre featured at the reopening of the Regent's Park Diorama in February 1826.

75.1 1821

Interior view from the east end

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel interior of the East end.
Drawn by E.Blore – Engraved by H.Le Keux'
Steel engraving, 20.3 x 15.7cm
Book reference: vol.II, plate facing p.206.

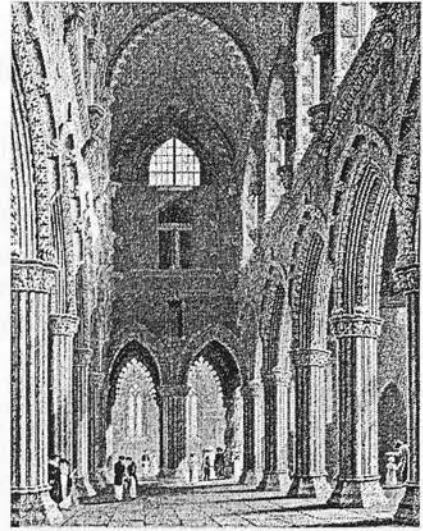


Interior of the Choir, looking east

Inscribed: 'Interior of Roslyn Chapel – Drawn by E.Blore. Engraved by H.Le Keux'

Steel engraving, 21.4 x 17cm

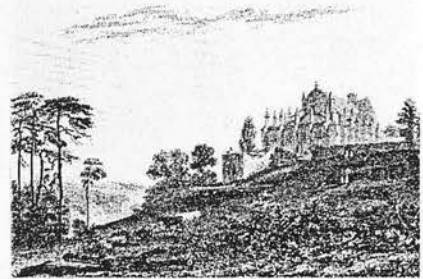
Book reference: vol.II, plate facing p.207.

*North east view of the Chapel*

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel – Drawn by E.Blore. Engraved by G.B.Cook'

Steel engraving, 15.1 x 22.5cm

Book reference: vol.II, plate facing p.205.



WILLIAM RAYMOND SMITH fl.1818-1848
after JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM TURNER 1775-1851

Turner was one of the outstanding artists who found in Rosslyn a scene worthy of his brush. His watercolour *Rosslyn Castle and Chapel* [cat.16] was later engraved by Smith for Scott's *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*.

View of Rosslyn Castle and Chapel.

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Castle – Drawn by J.M.W.Turner. Engraved by W.R.Smith'

Steel engraving, 16 x 23.8cm

Book reference: vol.II, plate facing p.127.



THOMAS HIGHAM 1769-1844
after GEORGE CATTERMOLLE 1800-1868

Cattermole found Scott’s literature an attractive subject for his paintings. Inspired by the *Waverly Novels* and *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* he made twenty one drawings and oil paintings which were later engraved for Leitch Ritchie’s *Scott and Scotland*, published by Longman in 1835. One Rosslyn Chapel item was included in the work. Ritchie’s work was translated into French – *Walter Scott et les Ecossais* – and the same illustrations were used in the Continental text. (see *Engen and Wood*)

77 1835

View of the south aisle with lectern and figure

Inscribed: ‘Roslyn Chapel – G.Cattermole delin.
T.Higham scult.’

Steel engraving, 25.8 x 20.7cm (paper size)

Book reference: plate V, facing p.142.



JOHN GELLATLY fl.1835-1850

The *Genealogie of the Sainteclaries of Rosslyn* was compiled about 1700 by Father Richard Augustine Hay (1661-1736), who had access to the Sinclair family papers. His manuscripts, now in the National Library of Scotland, were edited and published anonymously by James Maidment (1795-1879) in 1835. The two plates representing the Chapel for this edition were engraved from the original drawings contained in Hay’s manuscripts by John Gellatly.

[78] Engravings in the *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn* by Gellatly.

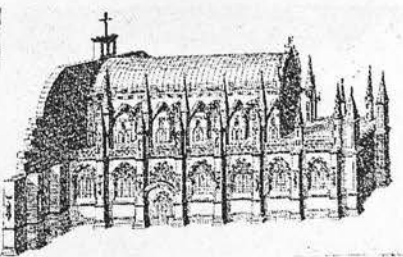
78.1 1836

Roslyn Chapel Interior of the East End.

Inscribed: ‘Rosslyn Church Ante 1700 – From the
Original Drawing in the Advocates Library – Engraved
by J.Gellatly’

Line engraving, 25 x 40cm

Book reference: plate facing p.26.

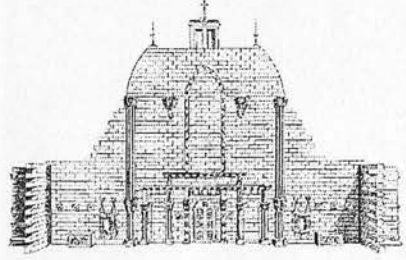


Roslyn Chapel Interior of the East End.

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Church Ante 1700 – From the Original Drawing in the Advocates Library – Engraved by J.Gellatly'

Line engraving, 25 x 40cm

Book reference: plate facing p.106.



SAMUEL DUKINFIELD SWARBRECK *fl.* 1830-1865

In 1837 Swarbrick issued a folio series of lithographs which are frequently met with in separate form. The volume was entitled *Sketches in Scotland, drawn from nature and on stone*. The plates are large sized, measuring approximately 40 x 30 centimetres each, and three of them represent Rosslyn Chapel. Swarbrick's album, published to coincide with the start of the restoration works at the Chapel, bears a dedication to the third Earl of Rosslyn who 'secured to after ages' the building. (see *Butchart*)

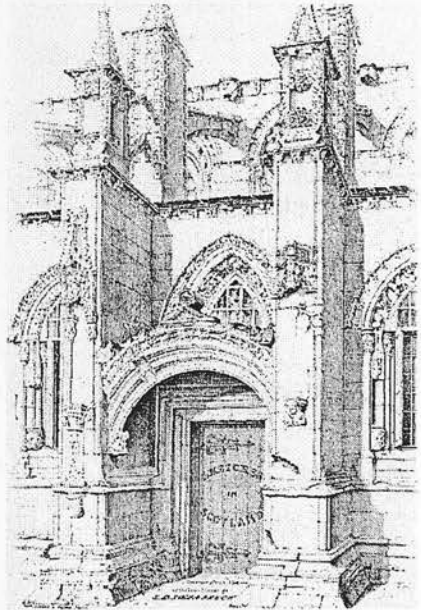
[79] Lithographs in *Sketches in Scotland* by Swarbrick.

North porch view of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'The North Entrance, Rosslyn Chapel - Sketches in Scotland, drawn from nature and on stone by S.D. Swarbrick'

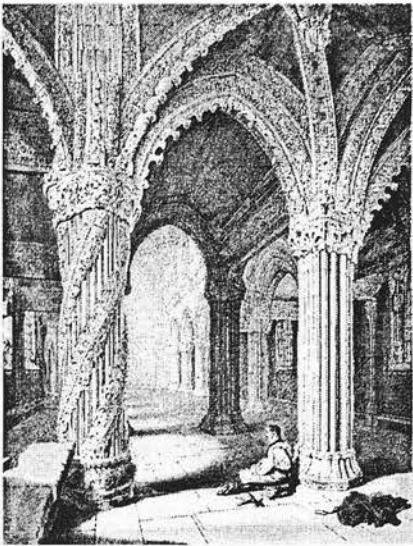
Tinted lithograph, 42.2 x 28cm

Book reference: frontispiece.



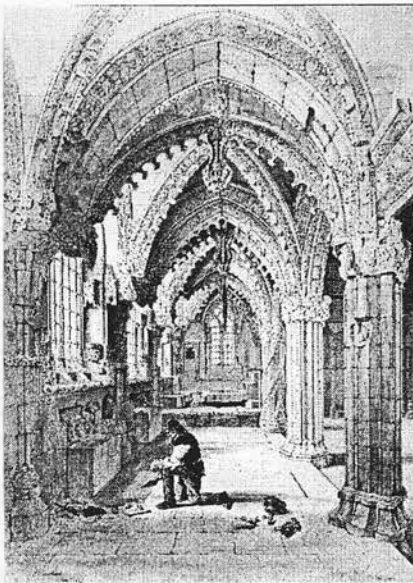
Rosslyn Chapel: Interior

Inscribed as above
Tinted lithograph, 41 x 30.5cm
Book reference: plate IX.



Rosslyn Chapel: The East Aisle or Lady Chapel

Inscribed as above
Tinted lithograph, 42.2 x 28cm
Book reference: plate XIII.



JOHN CLEGHORN fl.1839-1880
after THOMAS ALLOM 1804-1872

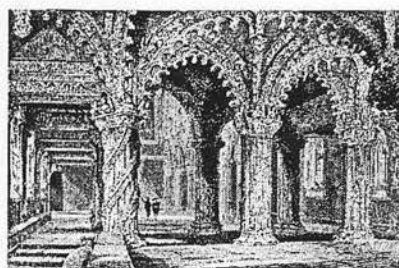
Allom was a landscape and architectural painter. He produced drawings and views for several volumes of British and Continental guide books. This Rosslyn Chapel image was published by George Virtue in 1839: the work in which it was intended to appear has not been identified. It is said that Virtue relied extensively on 'traditional historical and literary illustrations, by which a recollection of the scenery will be more permanently fixed in the memory of the tourist, than by any original description of its features which the author could himself have given.' A second run of this plate appeared in Mackenzie Edward Charles Walcott, *Scoti Monasticon. The ancient Church of Scotland: a history of the cathedrals, conventual foundations, collegiate churches, and hospitals of Scotland*, in 1874. (see Russel)

80

1839

Interior of Rosslyn Chapel

Inscribed: 'Interior of Roslyn Chapel (Mid Lothian)
 London by George Virtue, 28 Ivy lane, 1839.'
 Steel engraving, 11.2 x 17cm
 Private Collection [Rosslyn].



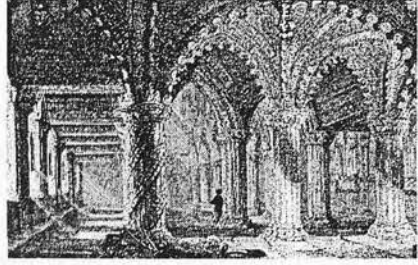
ROBERT SCOTT 1777-1841
after WILLIAM BELL SCOTT 1811-1890

In the first half of the nineteenth century the Scott family were leading figures in the Edinburgh engraving world. According to Bryan, the father, Robert, was the 'best Scottish engraver of his time.' Certainly he and his sons occupied a prominent place in the artistic life of the City. Robert was born in Lanark and, at an early age, was apprenticed to Archibald Robertson (1765-1835) from whom he learned the rudiments of engraving. His business was located in Parliament Stairs where he employed many assistants, mostly on book illustration. In 1838 Scott's son, William Bell, produced a set of drawings which were published in book form by W.F.Watson under the title *Scenery of Edinburgh & Midlothian*. The volume had forty two preliminary pages of descriptive text to introduce the twenty views for which his father did the engraving. Though small in size the plate representing Rosslyn Chapel is attractive with a flood of light penetrating the south aisle and the choir. Artistic licence has come into play here since it is not in reality possible to see all of the Chapel from this point of view.

A second version without inscription of the same plate appeared in 1845 in John Wilson's *Scotland Illustrated in a series of Eighty views*. (see Bénézit and Russel)

Interior of Rosslyn Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel – R.Scott – W.B.Scott'
Steel engraving, 7.7 x 12.4cm
Private Collection [Maggi-Checchini]

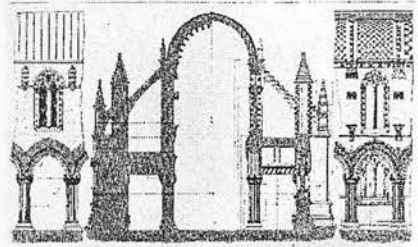


JOHN LE KEUX 1783-1846
after EDWARD CRESY 1792-1858

Edward Cresy is best remembered for the survey of the Leaning Tower of Pisa carried out with George Lewdell Taylor (1788-1873) in 1817, and for the splendid illustrated volumes, *The Architectural Antiquities of Rome* (1821) and *The Architecture of the Middle Ages in Italy* (1829), published on the architects' return to London from their foot-slogging Grand Tour. According to reference works, Cresy's recorded buildings were few, but his reputation as an expert on hydraulics and the author of *An Encyclopaedia of Civil Engineering* secured his appointment as a Superintending Inspector under the 1848 Public Health Act (see *Colvin*). Cresy in his *Practical Treatise on Bridge Building and on the Equilibrium of Vaults and Arches* (1839) published his survey drawings of Rosslyn Chapel in a plate representing three sections of the building, which were engraved by John Le Keux.

Three different sections of Rosslyn Chapel: portion of a section through the aisle (left); transversal section of the Chapel (centre); portion of a Longitudinal section through the Choir (right).

Inscribed: 'Cresy's Treatise on Bridges, Vaults & Arches – Plate 68 / Roslyn Chapel Scotland. Section through Nave – Measured by Edward Cresy Arch.t – John Le Keux sculpsit'
Steel engraving, 25.4 x 41.5cm
Book reference: plate 68.



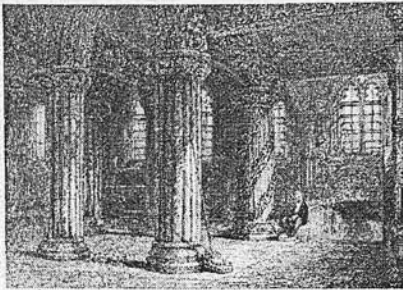
J.A.BELL fl.1840s and JOSEPH CLAYTON BENTLEY 1809-1851

This engraving represents the Retro-choir of the Chapel. The figure in the east end seated beside the Apprentice Pillar is Sir Walter Scott. John Adam Houston seems to have known the engraving and represented the same subject from a different viewpoint in his watercolour *Sir Walter Scott in Rosslyn Chapel* [cat.43]. Unfortunately the source of this engraving is unknown. The only unbound copy of it that has been traced so far is kept in the album 'Documents' [folio 38], and it shows a note below by John Britton's secretary in which he writes 'Copied from Britton's Antiquities without permission.'

83 c.1840

Interior view of the Chapel with Sir Walter Scott

Inscribed: 'J.A.Bell del., J.C.Bentley' and with pencil
'Copied from Britton's Antiquities without permission'
Steel engraving, 9.5 x 13.5cm
Reference: Album 'Documents', f. 38, see appendix.



**JOHN LE KEUX 1783-1846, JOHN GODFREY c.1789-1877
and G.B.SMITH fl.1840s
after ROBERT WILLIAM BILLINGS 1813-1874**

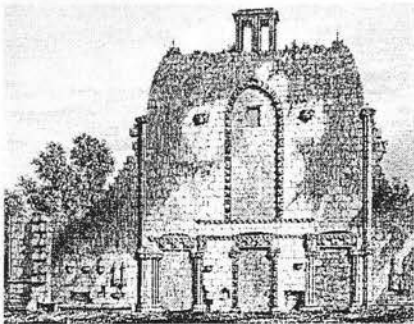
Trained by John Britton, Billings was soon in demand for his meticulous draughtsmanship and, after contributing to various works, began to publish under his own name. His great achievement was *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* issued between the years 1845 and 1852. Its 240 illustrations of notable buildings constitutes an architectural and artistic record of medieval Scotland which has never been surpassed. Billings devoted seven large plates and two small ones to Rosslyn Chapel, which appeared in the fourth volume of his work.

[84] Engravings in *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* by Billings.

84.1 1845

West front of the Chapel

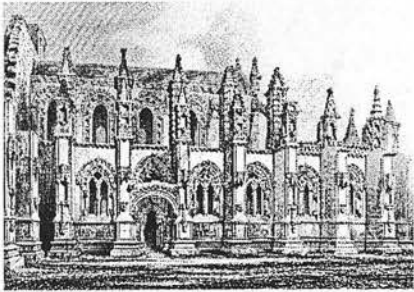
Inscribed: 'West front of Rosslyn Chapel / Drawn by
R.W.Billings. – Engraved by J. Godfrey.'
Steel engraving, 18 x 23cm
Book reference: vol.IV, plate I.



84.2 1845

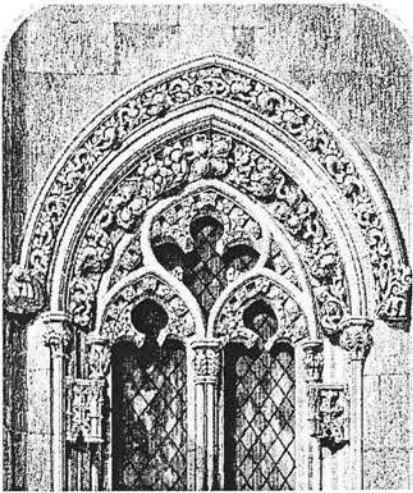
South front of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel –South front / Drawn by
R.W.Billings. – Engraved by G.B.Smith.'
Steel engraving, 23.5 x 17.8cm
Book reference: vol.IV, plate II.



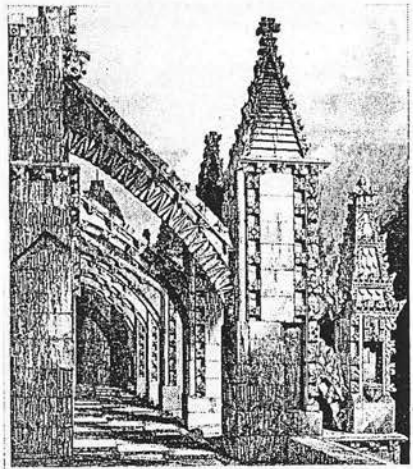
*Exterior detail of window at the east end
[window located on 2nd bay from left]*

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel. Head of one of the east windows / Drawn by R.W.Billings. – Engraved by G.B.Smith.'
Steel engraving, 21 x 17.6cm
Book reference: vol.IV, plate III.



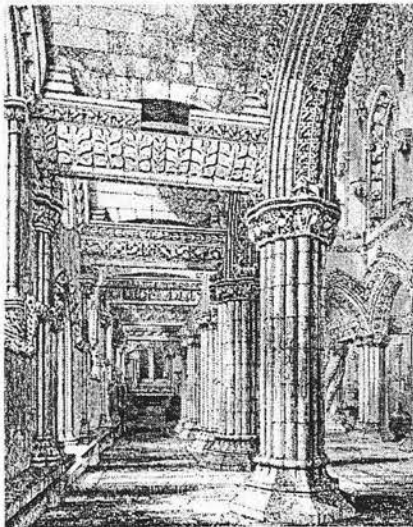
Rosslyn Chapel.

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel. Flying buttressy [sic] and pinnacle – North aisle / Drawn by R.W.Billings. – Engraved by J.Godfrey'
Steel engraving, 21.4 x 18.4cm
Book reference: vol.IV, plate IV.



View of the north aisle, looking towards east

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel. The North aisle / Drawn by R.W.Billings. – Engraved by J.Godfrey'
Steel engraving, 22 x 17.5cm
Book reference: vol.IV, plate V.



84.6

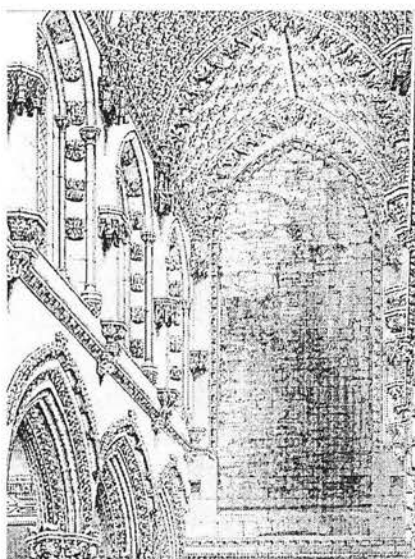
1845

View of the arched ceiling of the Choir

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel. Arched ceiling & portion of the north side / Drawn by R.W.Billings. – Engraved by G.B.Smith.'

Steel engraving, 23.5 x 17.8cm

Book reference: vol.IV, plate VI.



84.7

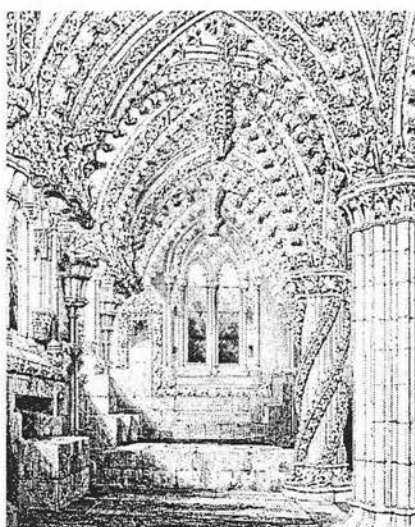
1845

View of the Lady Chapel, looking south

Inscribed: 'The Eastern Aisle. Rosslyn Chapel / Drawn by R.W.Billings. – Engraved by G.B.Smith.'

Steel engraving, 22 x 17.5cm

Book reference: vol.IV, plate VII.



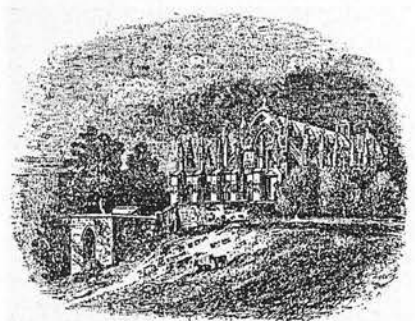
84.8

1845

Vignette of the Chapel from north-east

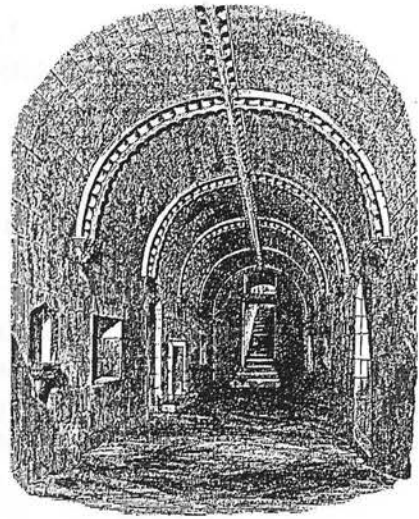
Steel engraving, 8 x 10cm

Book reference: vol.IV, p.5.



Vignette of the Lower Chapel or Sacristy, looking west

Steel engraving, 10 x 8cm
Book reference: vol.IV, p.5.



TOM PICKEN 1815-1870
after DAVID ROBERTS 1796-1864

During the summer of 1846 Roberts entered into an arrangement with Joseph Hogart of Haymarket to execute forty drawings for a work called *Scotland Delineated*, for which he was to receive a very considerable sum no less than £1000. The frontispiece of the text, drawn by Roberts himself, represents the south entrance to Rosslyn Chapel with a group of people in Highland costume similar to Swarbeck's frontispiece drawn in 1837 [cat.79.1] as well as the title-page of the *Historical and Descriptive Account of Rosslyn Chapel and Castle*, engraved by J. Johnstone in 1825 [cat.73.1]. A preliminary watercolour sketch for this plate is in the Print Room of the V. & A. Museum, London [cat.33].

South porch of Rosslyn Chapel as a frontispiece of 'Scotland Delineated'

Inscribed: 'Scotland Delineated'
Coloured lithograph, 38.4 x 27.3cm
Book reference: frontispiece.



JAMES DUFFIELD HARDING 1798-1863
after WILLIAM LEIGHTON LEITCH 1804-1883

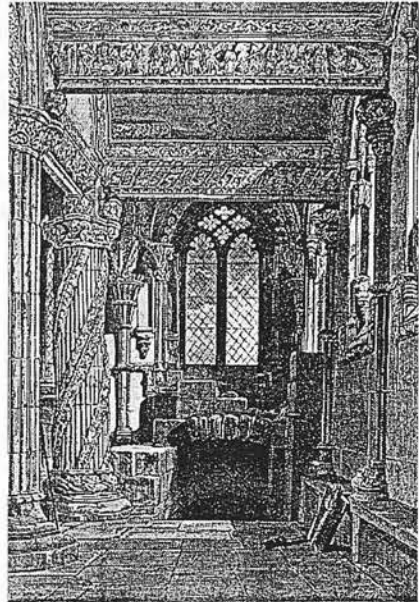
Leitch was an English landscape painter who had a Scottish connection as he was at one time employed as a scene painter at the Glasgow Theatre where he also acted. He contributed many of the drawings for Lawson's *Scotland Delineated*, a folio publication in two volumes issued between 1847 and 1854. His Rosslyn Chapel drawing was engraved by the lithographer J.D.Harding. A writer in *The Art Journal* of 1850 says of Harding that 'into whatever remote corner of the world the art of lithography has penetrated the sketches of this accomplished draughtsman have found their way.' It is interesting to compare this print with the oil painting of the same scene by Charles Dyce dated 1857 [cat.58]. (see *Butchart*)

86

1847

Rosslyn Chapel, view through south aisle.

Inscribed: 'The Prentice Pillar, Roslin Chapel'
 Coloured lithograph, 38.4 x 27.3cm
 Private Collection [Rosslyn].



JOHN JOSEPH LAING 1830-1862
after JAMES BROWN d.1878

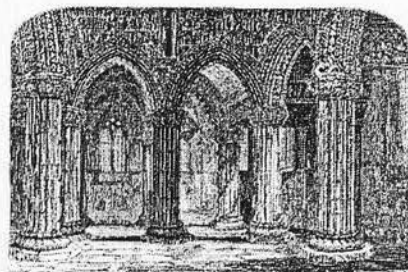
James Brown was a Glasgow architect who was in partnership with John Carrick (1810-1900). His view representing the Choir of Rosslyn Chapel was drawn during the restoration debates and published to accompany an article which appeared in *The Builder* in 1849. Brown's plate was engraved by the Scottish engraver Laing. A very similar perspective view of the Chapel was published in the same year in *The Art Journal* by the Liverpool artist William Gawen Herdman [cat.27].

Interior view

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel, Scotland'

Woodcut, 17.2 x 26cm

Reference : *The Builder*, vol.VII, 5 May 1849, p.210.

**JOHN SUTCLIFFE fl.1850-1856**

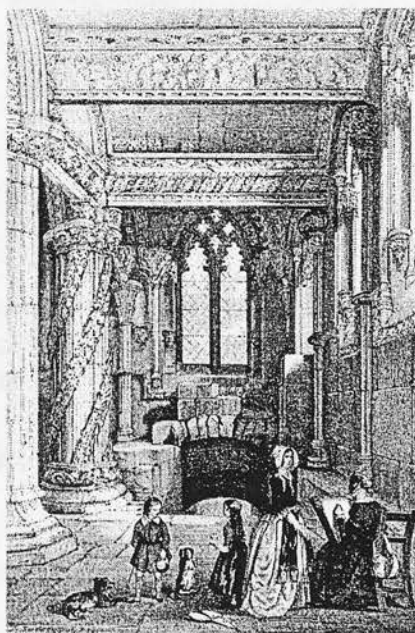
An unbound copy of a lithograph 'drawn from nature and on stone by John Sutcliffe' appeared soon after the publication of Leitch's plate of the Chapel for *Scotland Delineated* [cat.86]. The main difference between Leitch's lithograph and Sutcliffe's image is the addition of figures in the latter. The children playing with two dogs and the two ladies give a human touch to the scene but are on a different scale in comparison with the architectural features. The insertion of a lady sketching the Apprentice Pillar is certainly a tribute to the Duchess of Sutherland and her Rosslyn etchings.

View of the south aisle towards the Apprentice Pillar

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel (south east corner)'

Tinted lithograph, 36 x 22cm

E.C.L. reference n. 5326.



W.H.McFARLANE fl.1860s
after JOHN LESSELS 1808-1883

Between 1861 and 1869 the Architectural Institute of Scotland published in its *Transactions* a series of large scale lithographed plates of historic Scottish architecture, with minimal descriptive letterpress. John Lessels (q.v.) not only presented this view of the Lady Chapel to be lithographed by McFarlane, but also wrote the historical description to the plates entitled 'Roslin Chapel shown in some of its more peculiar characteristics.'

89

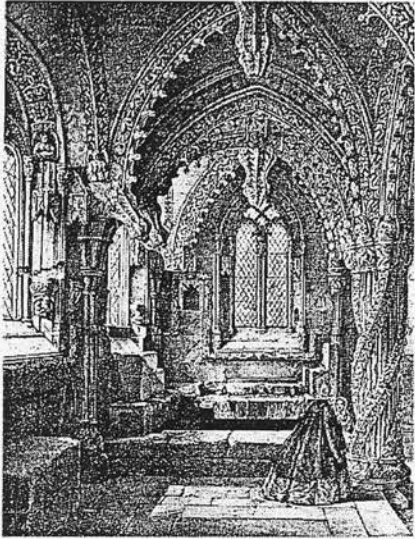
1862

Rosslyn Chapel, Section through east aisle.

Inscribed with monogram: 'East aisle & Prentice Pillar – Roslin Chapel'

Lithograph, 36.5 x 27cm

Reference: R.C.A.H.M.S., R.I.A.S. engraving book, 1.12.



E.F.C.CLARKE fl.1860s

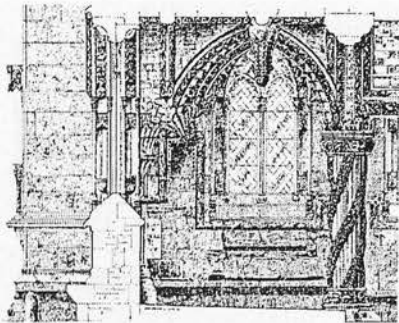
The *Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland* for 1862-1864 contained, in addition to Lessels's view of the Lady Chapel, four more plates concerning Rosslyn Chapel which were drawn on stone by Clarke.

[90] Lithographs in the *Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland* by Clarke.

[N.B.] One plate from the 1862-63 issue [plate 4] and another from the 1863-64 issue have not been added to the following catalogue of Clarke's Lithographs of the Chapel due to their size and the impossibility to reproduce them properly. Plate 4 represents 'Details from Roslin Chapel – Plan showing groining in South bay of Eastern Aisle', while the second plate, which is unnumbered, depicts 'Roslin Chapel thro' East Aisle (North to South)' [size 46 x 72cm].

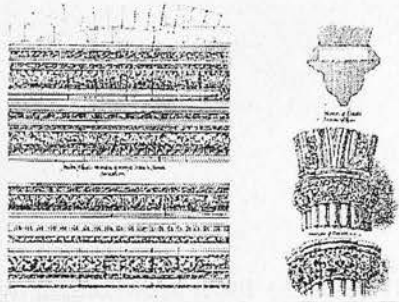
Rosslyn Chapel, Section through east aisle.

Inscribed as above and: 'Drawn in Lithograph by E.F.C.Clarke'
Lithography, 34 x 42.5cm
Book reference: plate 5.



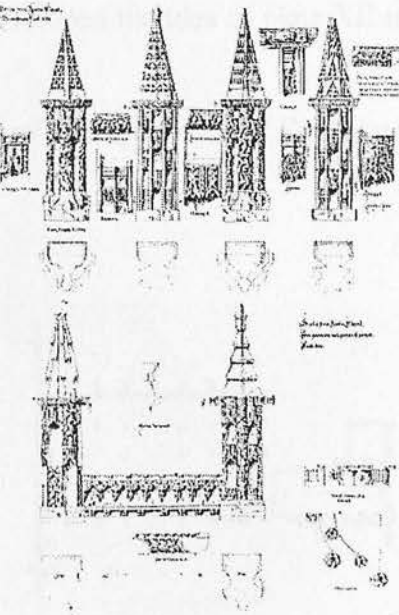
Lintels and capitals details from the Chapel's interior

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel: Examples of enriched lintels in Aisles (developed view) – Section of Lintels between the Pillars – Examples of Capitals – Drawn in Lith. By E.F.Clarke – W.H.M.Farlane, Edin.^g'
Lithograph, 32 x 42cm
Book reference: plate [?]



Four of the five pinnacles at the east end and wall head parapet with two pinnacles at the south side

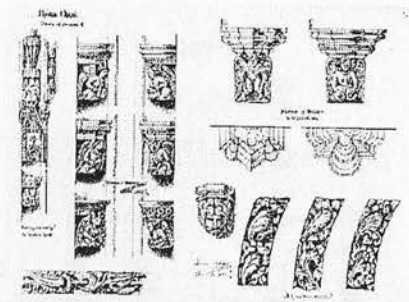
Inscribed: 'Details from Roslin Chapel, Pinnacles East Side – Canopy in N.E. pinnacle – South Pinnacle E.Side – Portion of Cornice at a – Pedistal c – Plan – Canopy d – Portion of Cornice at b – Canopy e – Canopy f circular plan – North Pinnacle E side is very similar to south except cornice, a portion of which is given above'
Lithograph, 29.5 x 38.5cm
Book reference: plate 7.



Inscribed: 'Details from Roslin Chapel, two pinnacle and portion of parapet South Side – Part of Cornice at b – Part of Cornice at a (enlarged) – Section thro' parapet ¼ Plan (inverted) - Drawn in Lith. By E.F.Clarke'
Lithograph, 31 x 49.5cm
Book reference: plate 6.

Details of sculptural ornaments in the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel Details of Ornament – Arch and Groin Enrichm.¹ Brackets in niches in E. wall - 2 Canopy and Enrichm.¹ in Window Jambs - Sketches of brackets in Window Jambs – Portion of running Enrichm.¹ under Windows – Sketches of Brackets in niches in E. Wall – Bracket under shaft in Window Jamb – Arch and Groin Enrichm.¹ in Lith. By E.F.C.Clarke W.H.M.Farlane, Edin.⁶'
Lithograph, 31 x 41cm
Book reference: plate [?]



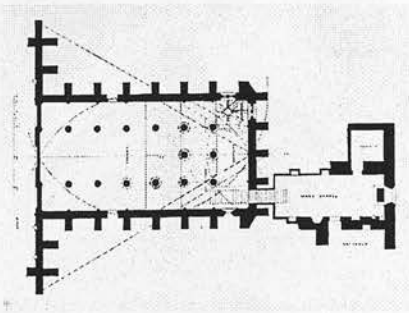
ANDREW KERR d.1887

Kerr is remembered for the project of the extension to the west front of Rosslyn Chapel. By spring 1879 Kerr's drawings of the proposed Baptistry and organ gallery were completed. The architect had previously published an essay on the medieval history of the Chapel, which appeared in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* for 1878. His rich and detailed essay, entitled 'The Collegiate Church or Chapel of Rosslyn, Its Builders, Architect and Construction', included four drawings by Kerr. It is important to remember that the architect had access to the album 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel' which he used as a very important source of information and from where he developed the idea of plate XII in his essay [see cat.91.2, below].

[91] Plates in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* by Kerr.

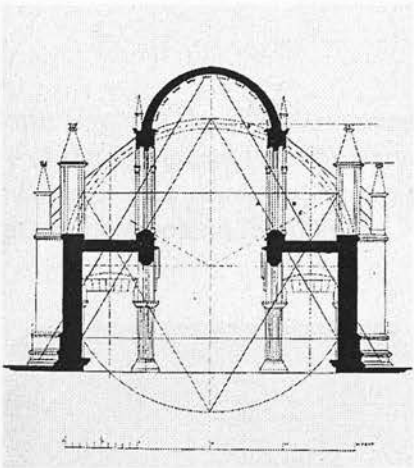
Plan of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol.XII Plate XI'
Line block after a pen drawing, 19.4 x 14.7cm
Book reference: plate XI.



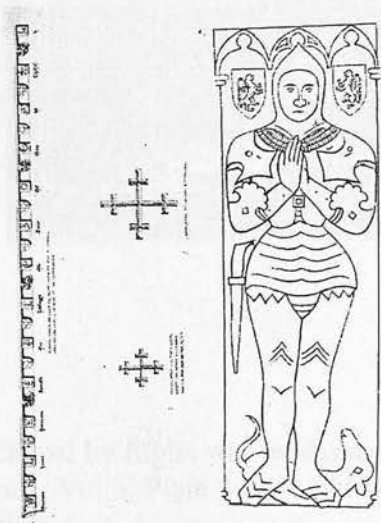
North to south section of the Chapel

Inscribed: ‘Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol.XII Plate XII’
Line block after a pen drawing, 19.4 x 14.7cm
Book reference: plate XII.



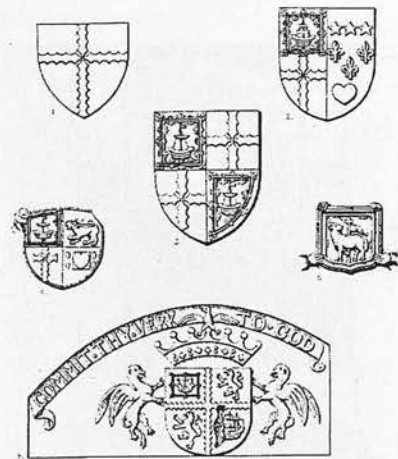
Inscription, crosses and incised slab at the Chapel

Inscribed: ‘Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol.XII Plate XVI- 1. Corbel table or cornice, north side of the clerestory, showing the initial letters of the words below – 2. Cross upon the pillars, except the three eastmost, and the one behind the altar – 3. Cross, upon transept buttresses’
Line block after a pen drawing, 19.4 x 14.7cm
Book reference: plate XVI.



Coat of Arms in the Chapel

Inscribed: ‘Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol.XII Plate XVII’
Line block after a pen drawing, 19.4 x 14.7cm
Book reference: plate XVII.



SAMUEL GOSNELL GREEN 1822-1905

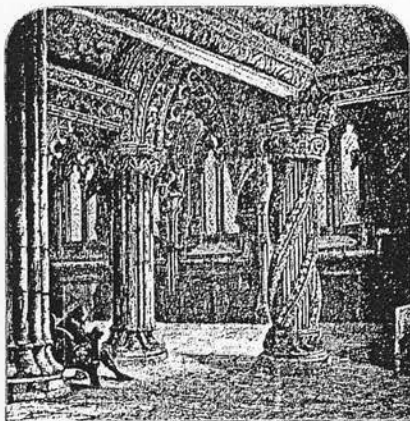
Green was a Baptist minister and bibliophile from North England. In 1876 he moved to London to serve as editor and, in 1881, as secretary of the Religious Tract Society. For the Society he wrote *Scottish Pictures drawn with pen and pencil* which was published in 1883 and which contains a plate representing the Apprentice Pillar. (see *D.N.B.*)

92

1883

View of the Apprentice Pillar

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel, with the Prentice Pillar'
Woodcut, 14.8 x 14.3cm
Book reference: p.20.



J.A.R.INGLIS fl.1890s

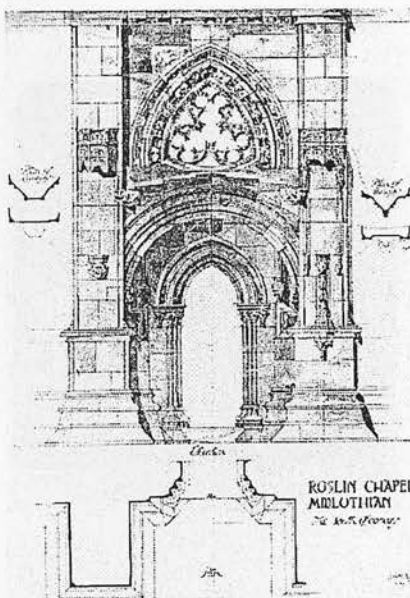
This survey drawing of the south porch of Rosslyn Chapel by Inglis was published in *The Architectural Association Sketchbook Third Series*, Vol.3, Plate 4. It might be a student competition drawing from the R.I.A.S collection.

93

1893

South Porch of Rosslyn Chapel.

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel Midlothian . The South Door'
signed and dated: 'J.A.R.Inglis 93'
Ink print, 39.4 x 28.4cm
Reference: *The Architectural Association Sketchbook Third Series*, vol.3, plate 4.



JOHN BEGG 1866-1937

An ink print depicting an interior view of the Chapel by the architect John Begg appeared in the second volume of the *Edinburgh Architectural Association Sketchbook*. Begg's text discusses the frequent attribution of the design of The Chapel to foreign masons and sources. He however believes that the building is typically Scottish and simply more enriched than normal.

94

1894

View of the Chapel from the south aisle, looking east

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel – John Begg'

Ink print after a watercolour, 23 x 34cm

Reference: *Edinburgh Architectural Association Sketchbook*, New series, vol.II, plate 5.



ANONYMOUS

after GEORGE WASHINGTON WILSON 1823-1893

In 1895 George Eyre-Todd published the tourist guide *Scotland Picturesque and Traditional*. In this many of the line illustrations, especially in the lavish quarto edition, were made directly from photographs by George Washington Wilson. In adding figures to Wilson's interiors the engraver continued what had become a Rosslyn tradition by drawing the people to quite a different scale to the architecture. Compared to the Victorian furnishings of the church they are tiny.

95

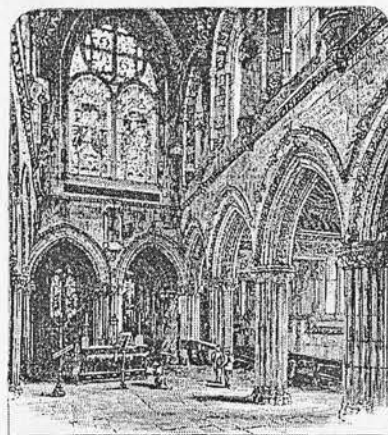
1895

Rosslyn Chapel.

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel Edinburgh'

Woodcut, 11.5 x 10.2cm

Book reference: p.70.



SIR DAVID YOUNG CAMERON 1865-1945

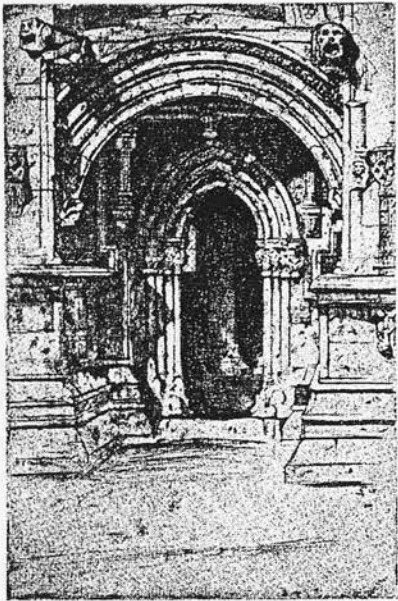
Cameron studied at the Glasgow School of Art and the Royal Scottish Academy Schools. In 1887 George Stevenson of Glasgow, an amateur etcher, was greatly impressed by Cameron's pen-and-ink sketches and suggested he should try etching, in which, under Stevenson's encouragement and temporary co-operation, he became remarkably efficient. From then on Cameron was to make over 500 prints, either etchings or in dry-point, including book illustrations and series of a considerable number of book plates. Cameron was fascinated by Rosslyn's architecture and his different states of the etchings of the south porch reveal a sure grasp of the complex design. (see *D.N.B.* and *Halsby/Harris*)

96

1899

South porch of the Chapel.

Inscribed: 'Roslin'
Etching, 28.2 x 18.7cm
Reference: Aberdeen Art Gallery [Rinder 309].



97

1899

View of the south porch with a lady

Inscribed: 'Roslin with figure'
Etching, 28.2 x 18.7cm
Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery, ref. GLAHA 44575



View of the south aisle

Inscribed: 'Roslin'

Etching 27.4 x 18.3cm

Private Collection [Rosslyn].

**JAMES HAMILTON MACKENZIE 1875-1926**

Mackenzie studied at the Glasgow School of Art. He spent few years in Italy and in East Africa where he worked during the first World War. His drawings and watercolours were reproduced in *The Studio Special War Number* of 1918. His approach to landscape was bold and assured. He had a strong sense of composition and often outlined in black. His style is reflected in the etching devoted to Rosslyn where the Chapel, seen from a very low point of view, is immersed in the surrounding nature.

East view of Chapel from the glen

Inscribed with pencil: 'Roslin – J. Hamilton Mackenzie'

Etching, 19.5 x 30cm

Private Collection [Rosslyn].



MISCELLANEOUS AND LATER PRINTS

among the objects

which the main body of the Catalogue is devoted to, the following miscellaneous objects have been included for their own interest and for the interest of the collector.

1850-1923

WILLIAM BANK 1850

This engraving appeared in the fourth price Year of Edinburgh and its history published by Mackenzie in the early 1850s.

100

1850

From George Mackenzie's history of the

history of the Chapel of St. Andrew

Black and white, 2 1/2 x 1 1/2

Black and white, 2 1/2 x 1 1/2

Miscellaneous and later prints c.1850-1923

JOHN BOWLER 1851

This engraving of the Chapel was drawn and engraved by John Bowler in the Edinburgh and Glasgow edition of the Catalogue of the Chapel of St. Andrew in 1851.

[1851] Engraving to Mackenzie by Bowler.

1851

1851

From George Mackenzie's history of the

history of the Chapel of St. Andrew

Black and white, 2 1/2 x 1 1/2

Black and white, 2 1/2 x 1 1/2

Black and white, 2 1/2 x 1 1/2

Note to this section of the Catalogue

Among the miscellaneous prints which do not fit in well to the sequence on which the main body of the catalogue is arranged, the following merit attention. Unless otherwise stated the artists or engravers are unknown.

WILLIAM BANK fl.1850s

This engraving appeared in the tourist guide *Views of Edinburgh and its vicinity*, published by Hanks & c. in the early 1850s.

100

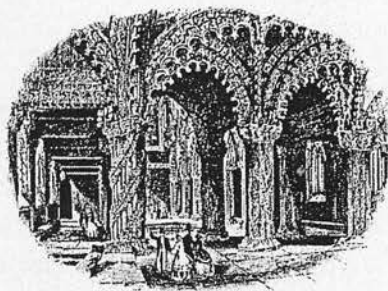
c.1850

View from the Lady Chapel, looking west

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel, Scotland'

Steel engraving, 8.5 x 12cm

Book reference, plate XXVII.



JOHN BOWLER fl.1852

Two steel engravings of the Chapel were drawn and engraved by John Bowler in the *Historical and Descriptive account of the County of Mid-Lothian* published in 1853.

[101] Engravings in *Midlothian* by Bowler.

101.1

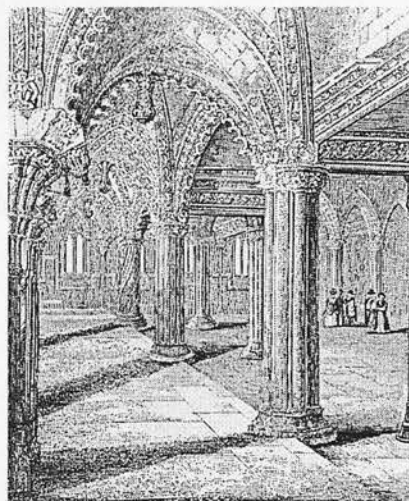
1853

Interior view of the Lady Chapel, looking south

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel, Scotland'

Steel engraving, 9 x 7.3cm

Book reference: plate facing p.21

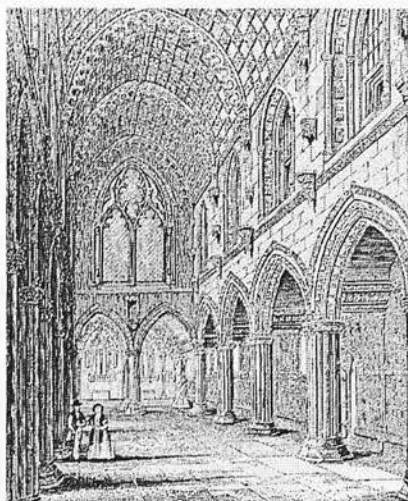


Interior view of the Choir, looking east

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel, Scotland'

Steel engraving, 9 x 7.3cm

Book reference: plate facing p.22.



Engraving from Menzie's *Pocket Guide to Edinburgh and its environs*, Edinburgh 1855.

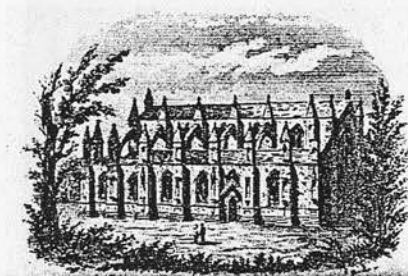
It is curious to note that the anonymous engraver of this plate still shows the former roof on the north aisle which had been taken down ten years earlier.

Vignette of the north side of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel, Scotland'

Steel engraving, 7 x 10.5cm

Book reference: plate facing p.60.



Engraving from Brydone's *Guide to Roslyn, Hawthornden, and Peebles*, Edinburgh 1856.

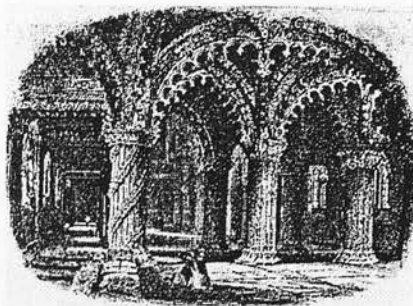
This engraving is very similar to Bank's image published few years earlier.

Vignette of the Lady Chapel, looking west

Inscribed: 'Interior of Roslyn Chapel'

Steel engraving, 7.5x 10.5cm

Book reference: plate facing p.19.



EDGAR MITCHELL *fl.* 1890s

Mitchell was an amateur watercolour painter who published five views of Rosslyn in the *Architectural Review* for 1897 to accompany the article 'To Roslin and Hawthornden' by D.S.Graeme. Only one of them is dedicated to the Chapel.

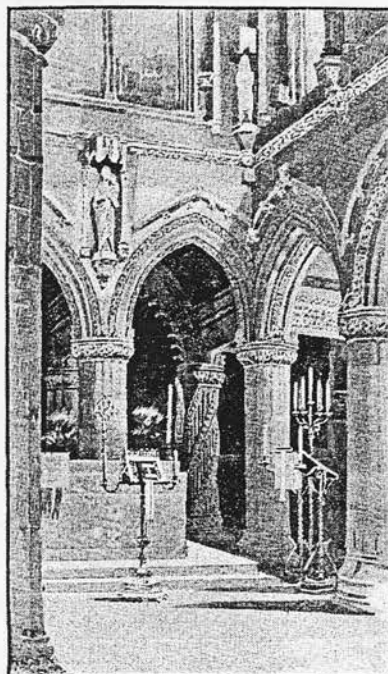
Interior view from the Choir, looking east

Inscribed: 'Interior of Roslin Chapel showing the

Prentice Pillar: from a wash drawing by Edgar Mitchell'

Ink print after a watercolour: 25.3 x 14.5cm

Reference: *The Architectural Review*, vol.2, 1897, p.215.



105

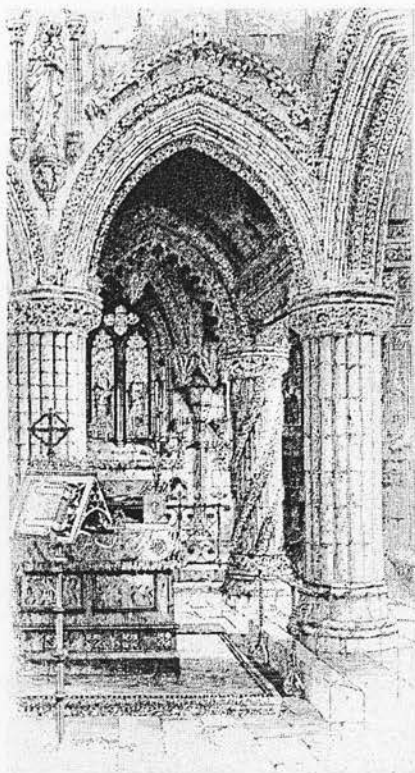
1923

Interior view from the Choir, looking east

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. Edinburgh' signed with pencil and dated.

Etching: 50.6 x 36.2cm

Private Collection [Maggi-Checchini].



These two men are particularly important in the history of early photography. Their work was not only a technical achievement but also a social one. They were the first to show the public that photography was not just a curiosity but a new way of seeing the world. Their work was a testament to the power of the camera as a tool of discovery and communication.

[106] Calotypes by Nic. and Adamson, Swedish National Photographic Collection at the Swedish National Portrait Gallery, Stockholm.

106.1

Calotypes, albumen prints and negative glass plates 1843-c.1880

106.2

Calotypes, albumen prints and negative glass plates 1843-c.1880

106.3

Calotypes, albumen prints and negative glass plates 1843-c.1880

106.4

Calotypes, albumen prints and negative glass plates 1843-c.1880

Calotypes, albumen prints and negative glass plates 1843-c.1880

Calotypes, albumen prints and negative glass plates 1843-c.1880

Calotypes, albumen prints and negative glass plates 1843-c.1880

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Calotypes, albumen prints and negative glass plates 1843-c.1880

Calotypes, albumen prints and negative glass plates 1843-c.1880

DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL 1802-1870 and ROBERT ADAMSON 1821-1848

In the sunny summer months of the years 1843 to 1847, Edinburgh was to witness an extraordinary experiment in art in the photographic partnership of Hill and Adamson. These two men set precedents for the new art of calotype photography, invented by W.H.Fox Talbot, experimenting consistently with both its difficulties and possibilities. In these years they brought cameras to Rosslyn Chapel and made the first documentary photo-study of the building. They photographed children with the same concentrated seriousness as the landscape surrounding the area. One of the unknown men in the Rosslyn calotypes has recently been tentatively identified as the architect William Burn who restored the building in the early 1840s. (see *Stevenson*)

[106] Calotypes by Hill and Adamson, Scottish National Photography Collection at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

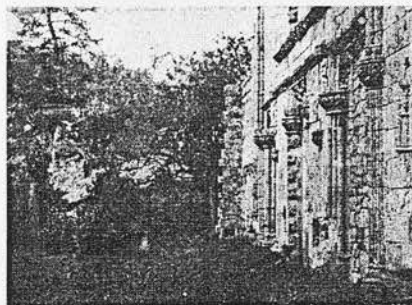
106.1

c.1843-8

West front of the Chapel before the addition of the Baptistry

Calotype, 14.8 x 19.8cm
S.N.P.G. reference: Landscape 15.

[note] There exist two calotypes of this image.

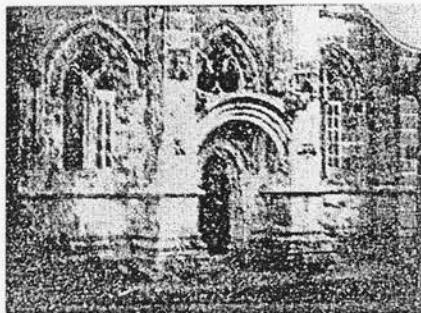


106.2

c.1843-8

South porch of the Chapel

Calotype, 11.5 x 15.6cm
S.N.P.G. reference: Landscape 16.



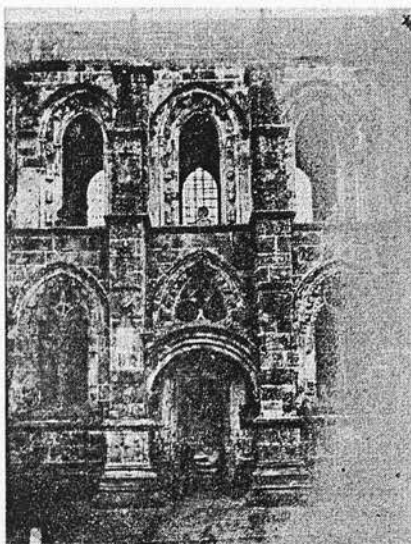
106.3

c.1843-8

Part of north side of the Chapel

Calotype, 15.6 x 11.8cm

S.N.P.G. reference: Landscape 17.



106.4

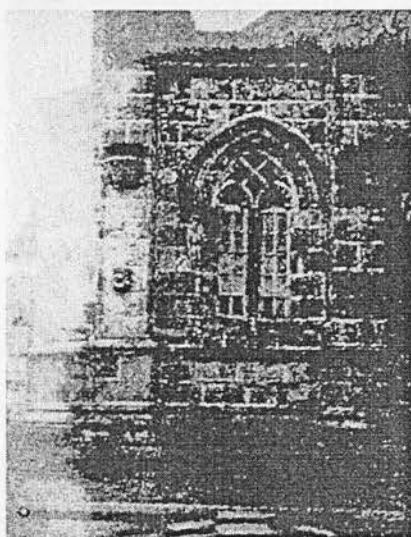
c.1843-8

Part of the east end of the Chapel

Calotype, 15.3 x 11.8cm

S.N.P.G. reference: Landscape 18.

[note] There exist two calotypes of this image.



106.5

c.1843-8

Part of the east end with the great east window

Calotype, 15.3 x 11.8cm

S.N.P.G. reference: Landscape 19.



106.6

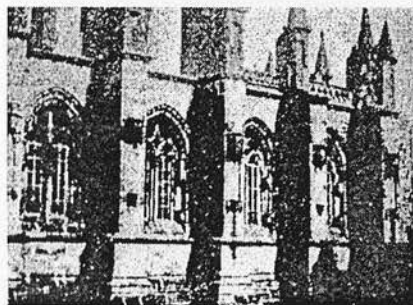
c.1843-8

South side of the Chapel

Inscribed on the back 'S.E. bit of chapel dark / 14 [or '16']'

Negative calotype, 15.3 x 11.8cm

S.N.P.G. reference: Landscape 20.



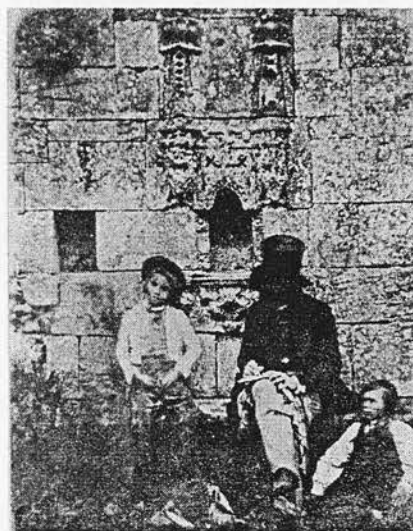
106.7

c.1843-8

Group of three figures at Rosslyn Chapel: west wall with piscina

Calotype, 18.1 x 14cm

S.N.P.G. reference: Landscape 21.



106.8

c.1843-8

Group of two figures at the west wall with piscina

Inscribed 'Roslin D2'

Negative calotype, 20.8 x 15.7cm

S.N.P.G. reference: Landscape 22.



106.9

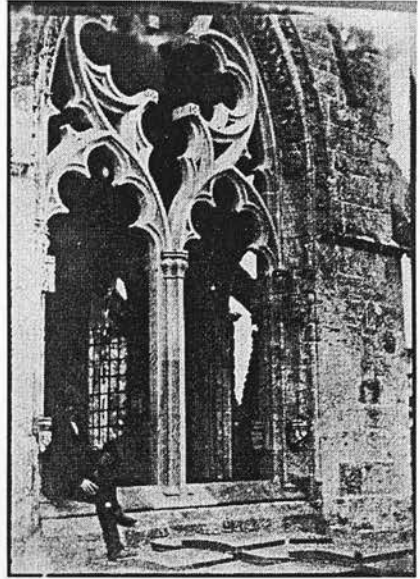
c.1843-8

Great east window with figure from the upper storey

Calotype, 17.3 x 13.2cm

S.N.P.G. reference: Landscape 23.

[note] There exist four calotypes of this image.



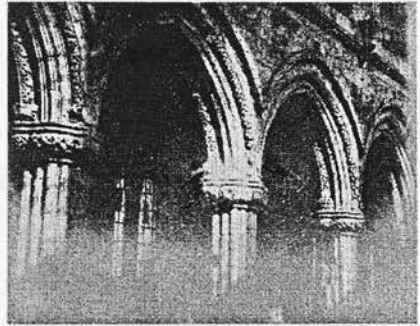
106.10

c.1843-8

Interior view of three arches in the nave

Calotype, 15.6 x 11.5cm

S.N.P.G. reference: Landscape 24.



106.11

c.1843-8

William Burn leaning against the south door of the Chapel

Calotype, 15.4 x 11.2cm

S.N.P.G. reference: Unknown man 96.



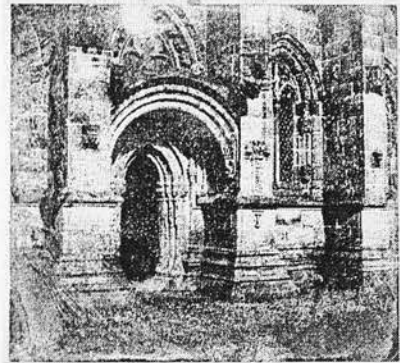
107

c.1850

South porch of Chapel

Calotype, 17x15.5cm (mount on board, 27x21)
Writers Museum, Edinburgh, Ref. K.259.

[note] This calotype is in G.M.Kemp's collection.



THOMAS KEITH 1827-1895

Thomas Keith's introduction to photography most likely came through his father, a minister and founder of the Free Church of Scotland, who was photographed by David Octavius Hill. Keith apparently developed a friendship with Hill, emulating the eminent photographer's use of the calotype, collecting his prints, and photographing some of the same sites around Edinburgh. A surgeon by profession and a photographer by avocation, Keith applied his medical habits of orderly procedure and exactitude to the execution of his photographs. As recorded in his letters, he prepared his paper negatives for Rosslyn Chapel in advance, at night, and allowed himself to photograph only when the limpid early morning light illuminated the south side of the building in order to guarantee a successful result. (see *Hannavy*)

[108] Photographs by Keith in the Edinburgh Central Library.

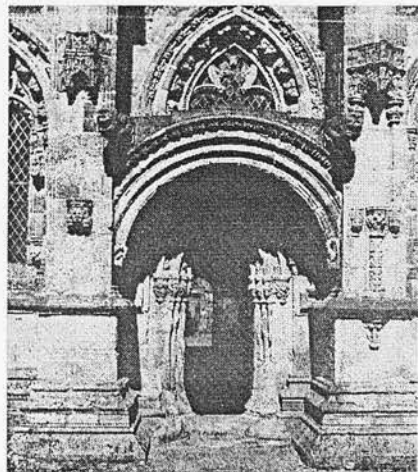
108.1

c.1856

South porch of the Chapel

Salted paper print from paper negative, 24.8 x 27.4cm
E.C.L. reference: 1406.
From a negative in the possession of Miss Alison Langdon.

[note] The negative of this print is kept in the International Museum of Photography, New York.



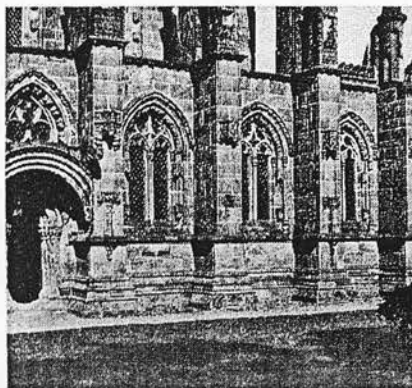
108.2

c.1856

South side of the Chapel

Salted paper print from paper negative, 21.4 x 25.7cm
E.C.L. reference, 3728.
From a negative in the Hurd Collection.

[note] Second print E.C.L. reference 1409



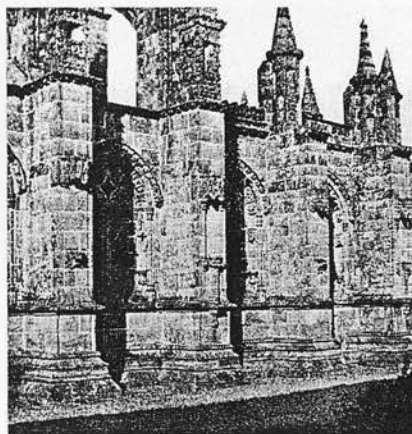
108.3

c.1856

South side of the Chapel

Salted paper print from paper negative, 21 x 20cm
E.C.L. reference, 2896.
From a negative in the Hurd Collection.

[note] Second print E.C.L. reference 1407



JOHN FORBES WHITE 1831-1904

Forbes White was Dr Thomas Keith's brother-in-law. It therefore seems obvious that Keith communicated much of his own enthusiasm and expertise on early photography to White. They both used the waxed negative paper process and made several photo-reportage trips together. This is the case of the Rosslyn negatives which were taken the same day almost from the same position. A comparison of their photographs clearly indicates there was something of a teacher/pupil relationship between the brothers-in law.

[109] Photographs by White in the Edinburgh Central Library.

109.1

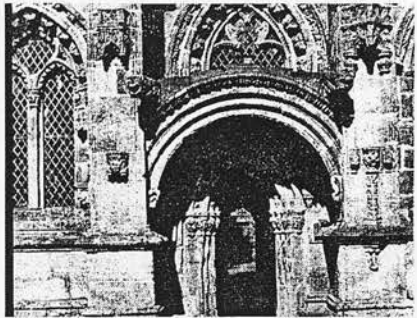
1859(?)

South porch of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'J.F.W. 1859'

Salted paper print from paper negative, 17.4 x 22.3cm
E.C.L. reference: 2400.

[note] The date on the glass plate negative seems added at a later stage and by a different hand.



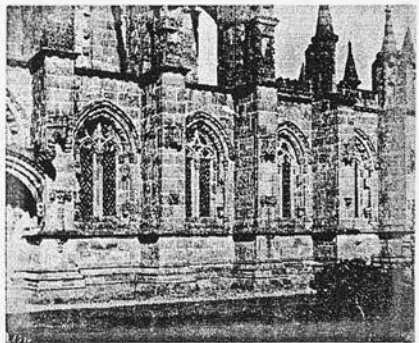
109.2

1855

South side of the Chapel

Inscribed: 'J.F.W. 1855'

Salted paper print from paper negative, 21 x 27.5cm
E.C.L. reference: 1408.



ROGER FENTON 1819-1869

Fenton is a seminal figure in the history of British photography as much for his advocacy of the highest standards for the new medium through the founding of the Photographic Society in London in 1853 as for his artistic achievements. In his early years he pursued, simultaneously, studies in law and painting in London and in Paris. As a photographer he achieved public recognition in 1855 mainly as an accredited photographer during the Crimean War. Fenton was very much aware of the technical advances being made in France. He was also impressed by the concern of the French government for the preservations of historic sites, and the commissioning, in 1851, of photographic surveys of the country's architectural heritage. As such patronage did not exist in Britain, Fenton made his architectural studies on his own initiative, travelling extensively throughout England, Wales and Scotland.

Rosslyn Chapel was on the photographer's map. He took two superb photographs of the south side of the building. Both the prints bear Fenton's rare signature. (see *Turner*)

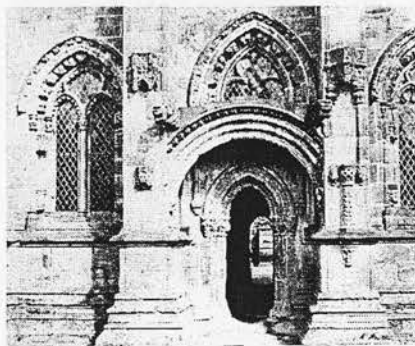
110

c.1856

South porch of Chapel

Salted paper print from glass negative, 35 x 42.5cm
V.&A. Museum, London, Ref. PH 290-1935.

[note] A second copy of this image is kept in the Gilman
Paper Company Collection in New York

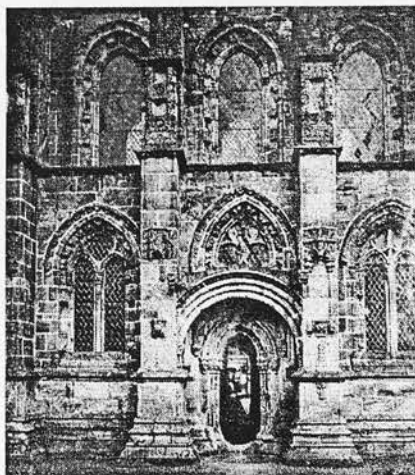


111

c.1856

Chapel's south porch and part of the south side

Inscribed: 'H.38, R.Fenton'
Salted paper print from glass negative, 45.3 x 40cm
Private Collection [U.S.A.]



WILLIAM DONALDSON CLARK 1816-1873

Clark's older brother Thomas became an eminent chemist and this family interest may have contributed to William's success at the 'Turkey Red' fabric print-works in Dumburtonshire, near Glasgow. He became superintendent of these works. The enterprise was evidently a success, for Clark was able to retire from business while still relatively young, in the early 1860s. Moving to Edinburgh he briefly became a picture dealer, afterwards devoting himself to photography. In 1864 he became a member and later, Secretary, of the Photographic Society of Scotland. In the late 1850s and 1860s he photographed Edinburgh and Rosslyn Chapel with a delicate 'photo-pictorial touch.' (see *Stevenson*)

[112] Photographs by Clark in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

112.1

c.1860

South porch of the Chapel

Albumen print, 21.9 x 27.7cm
S.N.P.G. reference: PGP R 142.

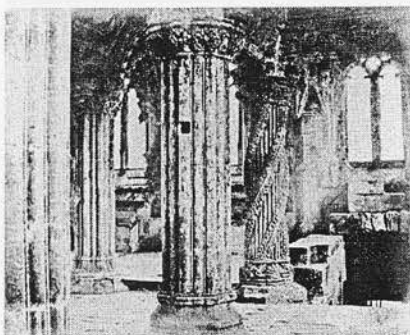


112.2

c.1860

Interior view from the south aisle, looking towards the Apprentice Pillar

Albumen print, 22.2 x 27.2cm
S.N.P.G. reference: PGP R 142.



THOMAS VERNON BEGBIE 1840-1915

Begbie was a professional photographer who worked in Edinburgh between 1856 and 1881. A large number of negatives by Begbie of Rosslyn Chapel suggest that he may have had a concession to sell photographs of the building. The 36 glass plate negatives, which were taken with a stereo camera, appear to span the period of the 1860s restoration of the Chapel by David Bryce when, according to *The Builder*, almost all the carving was re-tooled and sharpened. Begbie's photographs of the Chapel's architecture may have been used to provide reassurance that little, if any, damage had occurred as a result of the restoration work. (see *Patterson/Rock*)

[113] Stereophotographs glass negative plates in 'The Cavaye Collection of Thomas Begbie Prints' in the City of Edinburgh Art Centre.

All the following items are catalogued from contemporary prints taken from the original glass plate negatives. The size of these images was recorded from a re-print and does not give the actual measurements of the glass negative, which might be slightly different.

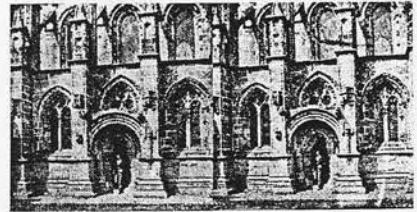
113.1

c.1861

Polarised stereophotograph view of the south side with one figure beside the entrance

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 8 x 17.1cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.85.



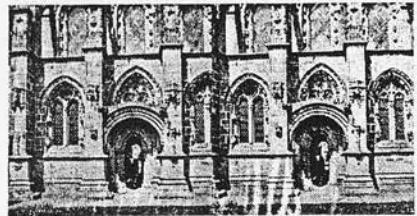
113.2

c.1861

Polarised stereophotograph view of the south side with one figure beside the south entrance and another beside the north door

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 8.2 x 17.1cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.90.

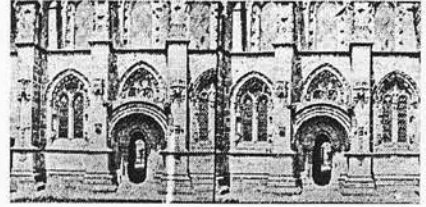


113.3

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the south side with open door

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 7.6 x 14.8cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.166.

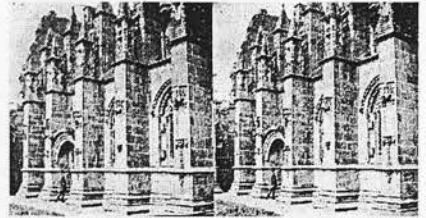


113.4

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the south side from south-east

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 7.8 x 14.9cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.184.

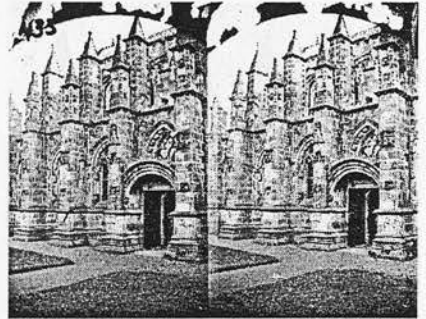


113.5

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of north entrance

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 13.2 x 15.2cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.433.

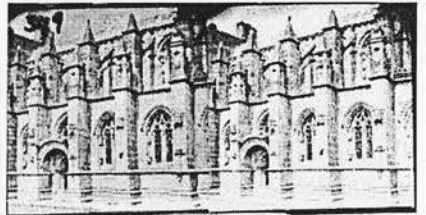


113.6

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the south side

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 7.5 x 15cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.349.

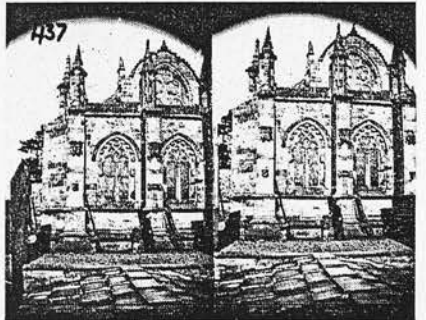


113.7

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of east end with the stone roof of the Crypt in the foreground

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 13 x 15cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.437.



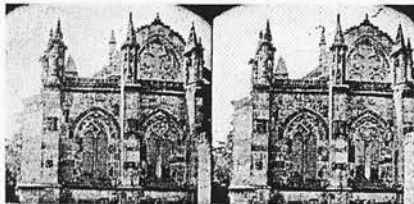
113.8

c.1861

Stereophotograph exterior view of the east end

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 83 x 17.2cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.195.



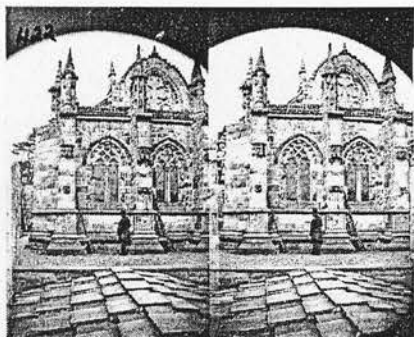
113.9

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of east end with the stone roof of the Crypt in the foreground and a figure

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 13.1 x 14.8cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.422.



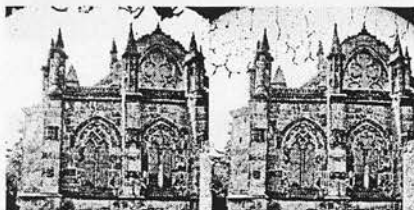
113.10

c.1861

Stereophotograph exterior view of the east end

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 8.2 x 17.1cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.166.



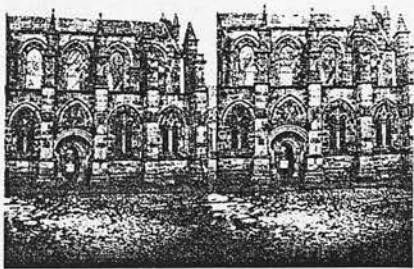
113.11

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of south side

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 13 x 14cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.431.



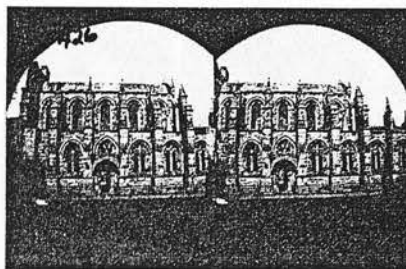
[note] Neg.432, 421, 435, 430, 436, 427 are all from the same point of view and approximately of the same size.

113.12

c.1861

Stereophotograph [wide angle] view of the south side

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 13 x 14.5cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.426.

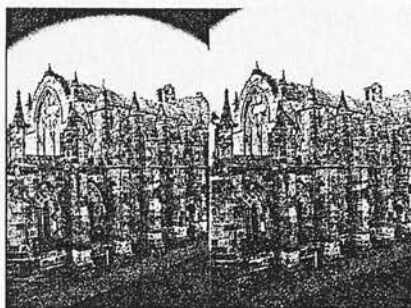


113.13

c.1861

Stereophotograph north east view of the Chapel

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 13 x 15cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.429.

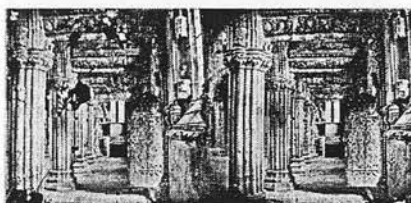


113.14

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the south aisle with open door

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 8.1 x 17cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.177.

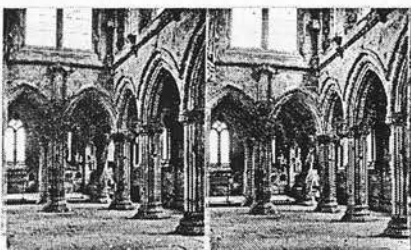


113.15

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the Choir looking east

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 8 x 13.1cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.125.

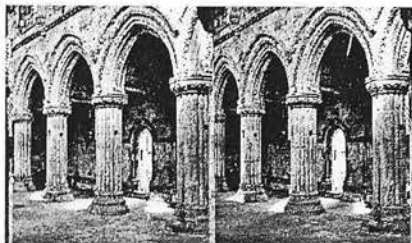


113.16

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the south pillars with holes at the same height

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 8.1 x 13.3cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.128.

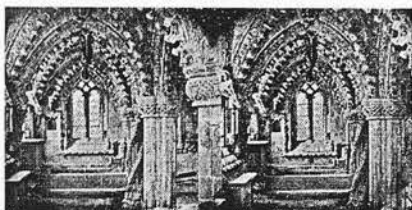


113.17

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the Lady Chapel looking south

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 8.4 x 16.8cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.131.

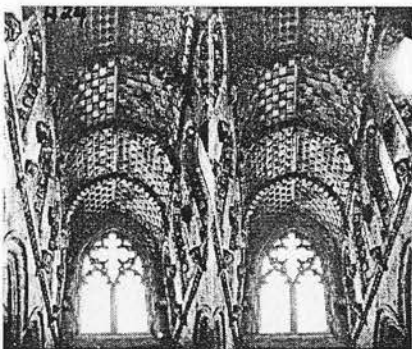


113.18

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the ceiling of the Choir, looking east

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 13.3 x 15cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.424.

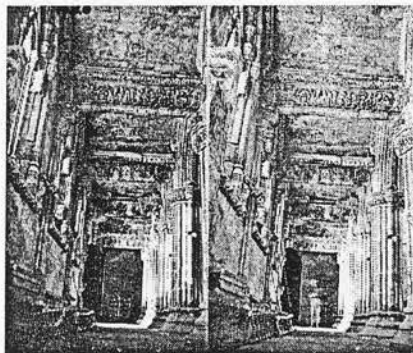


113.19

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the south aisle looking west with a figure in one of the two exposures

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 13.5 x 14.9cm
C.E.A.C. reference: neg.428.



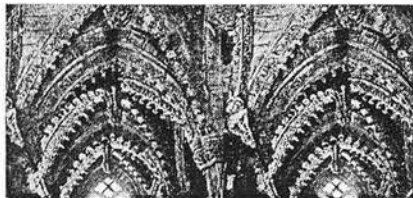
113.20

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the Lady Chapel's ceiling

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 8.4 x 17cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.129.



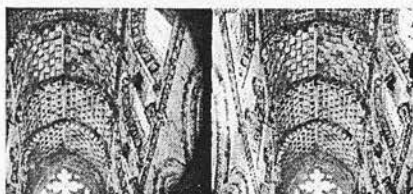
113.21

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the ceiling of the Choir, looking east

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 8.2 x 17.2cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.110.



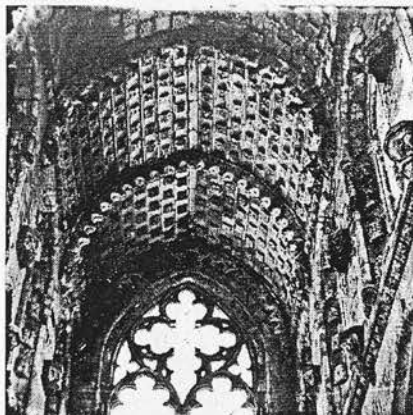
113.22

c.1861

Single exposure [from a broken stereophotograph] of a view of the ceiling of the Choir, looking east

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 8.3 x 8.6cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.212.



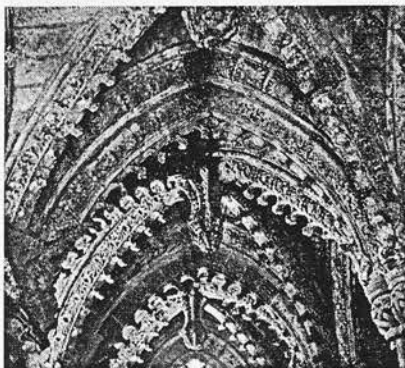
113.23

c.1861

Single exposure [from a broken stereophotograph] view of ceiling in the Lady Chapel

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 9 x 8.5cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.389.



[note 111.1.a] Neg. 387 is the same exposure

113.24

c.1861

Stereophotograph view of the Choir looking east with church furniture

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 12.1 x 17.8cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.379.



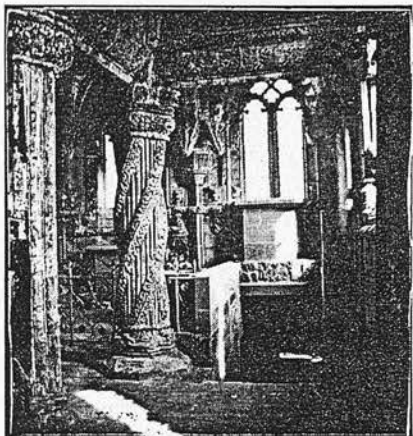
113.25

c.1861

Single exposure [from a broken streophotograph] view of the Apprentice Pillar and the entrance to the Crypt

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 9.2 x 8.5cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.387.



113.26

c.1861

Single exposure [from a broken streophotograph] view of the Choir looking east

Contemporary photograph from original glass plate negative, 9 x 8cm

C.E.A.C. reference: neg.386.

[note] Neg.384 is the same exposure as above.



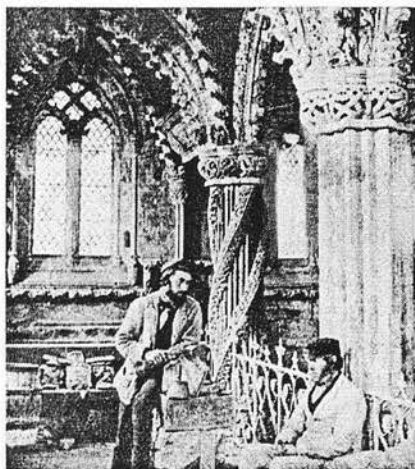
ANONYMOUS

In this print an unknown photographer has captured the two mason sculptors employed by Bryce to re-dress the stones in the Chapel. They are Laurence Baxter and J.Lawrence Tweedie who are shown here during a brake from their work in the Lady Chapel. This rare image was copied for the R.C.A.H.M.S from the original photograph in a private collection. The identity of the two workers was established by Jane Thomas.

Two sculptors in the Lady Chapel during the 1860s restoration work

Contemporary photograph from original albumen print,
10.5 x 9.5cm

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.C.39081.



ANONYMOUS

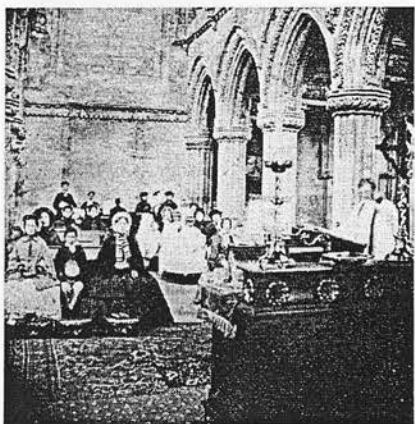
In 1861 Lord Rosslyn gave his permission for Sunday services to be held in the Chapel. On the completion of the restoration works, the Chapel was rededicated on Tuesday 22 April 1862, by the Bishop of Edinburgh and the Rev R.Cole, resident military chaplain to Greenlaw Barracks near Penicuik, was appointed private chaplain to the Earl. This photograph captures one of the first services held in the Chapel. It was taken before the insertion of the organ and the creation of the apse at the west wall.

An early religious service at Rosslyn Chapel

Contemporary photograph from original albumen print,
10.5 x 9.5cm

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2362/B.

Private Collection [Gerald Cobb, London].



GEORGE WASHINGTON WISLON 1823-1893

Wilson was born in Alvah, Banffshire, where his father was a farmer. He left school at twelve to be a carpenter but later took up painting which he studied in Edinburgh and London from 1840 to 1842. In 1850 he became a teacher of drawing and painting in Aberdeen. Wilson joined the photographic business of John Hay in 1853 and went on in 1860s to become one of the most commercially successful photographers in Scotland. He received international acclaim for his photographic views of Scotland as well as for his lantern slides. He counted Queen Victoria amongst his many patrons.

[116] Photographs by Wilson in different collections.

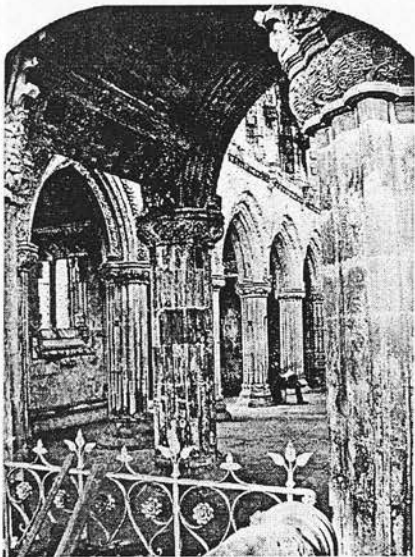
This selection of Rosslyn photographs represent only one way in which such a theme could have been developed. Wilson was a very productive photographer and there are many photographs of historical value and documentary interest which I have been unable to include. A large collection of Rosslyn stereophotographs is in the V&A, London, while many Rosslyn plates are kept in the Aberdeen Public Library and Aberdeen University Library. Many of the ones listed below are part of the modern prints from originals kept in the R.C.A.H.M.S.

116.1

c.1861

View of the mason pillar before the restoration works

Contemporary print from albumen print, 10.7 x 7.6cm
Private Collection [Hemmings]

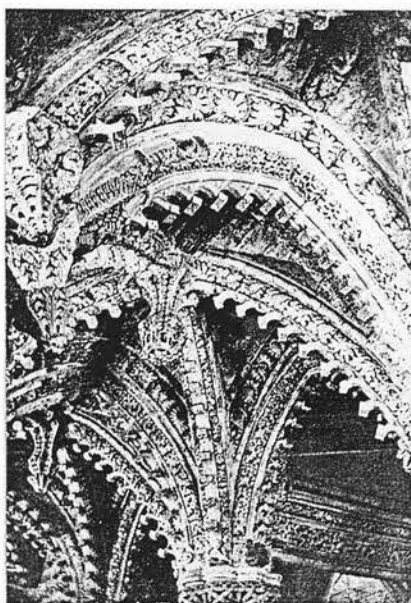


116.2

c.1870

View of the Lady Chapel ceiling

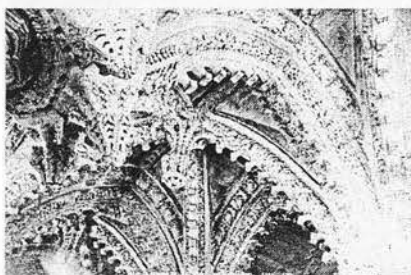
Inscribed: 'Roof of Roslin Lady Chapel. 8 G.W.W.'
 Copy from Albumen print, 15 x 20.3cm
 R.C.A.H.M.S., reference, neg. A 58037.
 Private Collection [Clark].

**116.3**

c.1870

View of the Lady Chapel ceiling

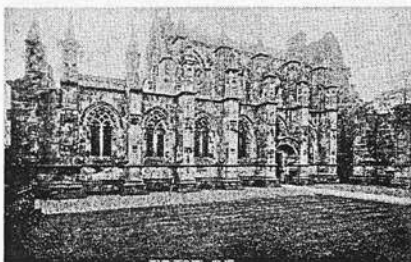
Inscribed: 'Detail of Roof of Lady Chapel, Rosslyn Chapel 6354 G.W.W.'
 Albumen print, 13.2 x 20.3cm
 Private Collection [Maggi-Checchini].

**116.4**

c.1870

View of the north side

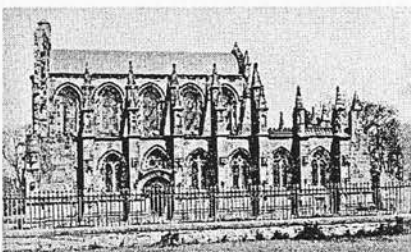
Inscribed: 'North front, Rosslyn Chapel. 6374 G.W.W.'
 Albumen print, 18.8 x 29cm
 Private Collection [Maggi-Checchini].

**116.5**

c.1870

View of the south side

Inscribed: 'Rosslyn Chapel, South front, 65 G.W.W.'
 Albumen print, 13.2 x 20.3cm
 Private Collection [Maggi-Checchini].



116.6

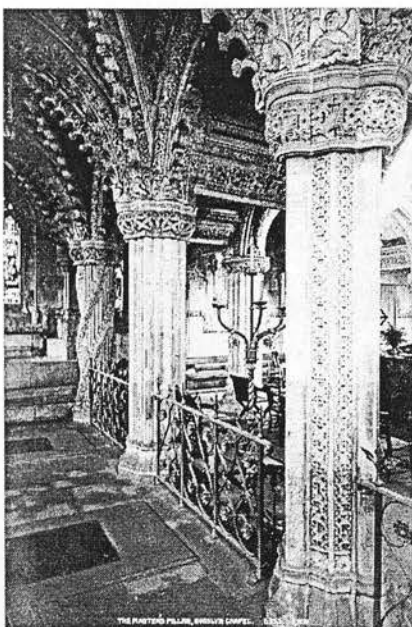
c.1870

View of the three piers in the Lady Chapel

Inscribed: 'The Masters's Pillar, Rosslyn Chapel. 6535 G.W.W.'

Albumen print, 20.6 x 13.6cm

Private Collection [Maggi-Checchini].



116.7

c.1870

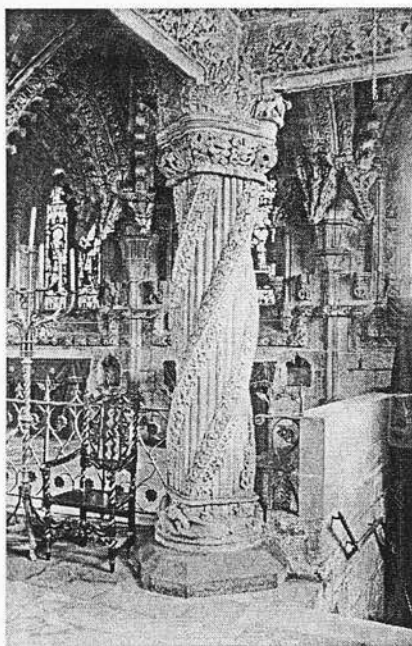
View of the Apprentice Pillar

Inscribed: 'The Apprentice Pillar, Rosslyn Chapel. 527 G.W.W.'

Copy from Albumen print, 20.3 x 13.6cm

R.C.A.H.M.S., reference, neg.A58038.

Private Collection [Clark].



116.8

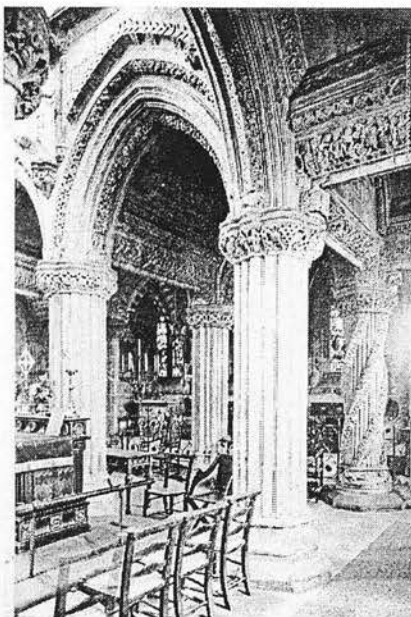
c.1870

View from the south aisle of the Lady Chapel

Inscribed: 'Lady Chapel & S. Aisle, Rosslyn Chapel. 6340 G.W.W.'

Albumen print, 29 x 18.8cm

Private Collection [Maggi-Checchini].



116.9

c.1870

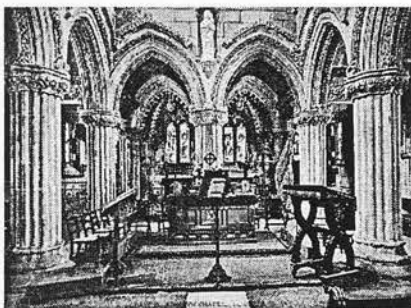
View of the Choir looking east

Inscribed: 'Chancel, Rosslyn Chapel. 11,280 G.W.W.'

Copy from Albumen print, 15 x 20.3cm

R.C.A.H.M.S., reference, neg.ML/4357.

Private Collection [Gibb].



116.10

c.1870

View of the Choir's ceiling looking east

Inscribed: 'Roof of Chancel, Rosslyn Chapel. 2524 G.W.W.'

Copy from Albumen print, 28.4 x 19.3cm

R.C.A.H.M.S., reference, neg.ML/1865.PO.



116.11

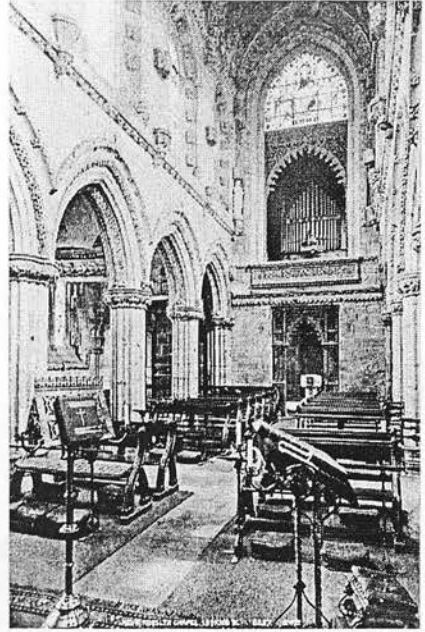
c.1870

View of the Choir looking west

Inscribed: 'Nave, Rosslyn Chapel, looking west. 6337 G.W.W.'

Albumen print, 20.5 x 13.2cm

S.N.P.G. reference n. PGP R 416



JAMES VALENTINE 1815-1880

James Valentine of Dundee was one of the first photographers in Scotland to establish an extensive photographic practice. He had begun his career as an engraver before the invention of photography. His fine landscape views had been brought to the attention of Queen Victoria who commissioned several volumes and folios of his work. Valentine is often dismissed as being just another photographer who exploited the mass market. By the year 1860 he had established a company that was one of the largest, if not the largest, publisher of postcards and topographical views in Britain. Although he never achieved the same technical finesse as Wilson, among his huge output he also created a positive contribution to the history of the photographic representation of Rosslyn Chapel. (see *Stevenson*)

[117] Photography postcards by Valentine.

117.1

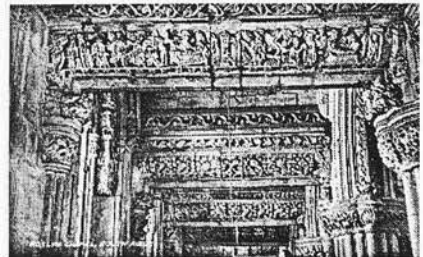
c.1870

View of the lintels in the south aisle

Inscribed: 'Roslyn Chapel. South aisle.'

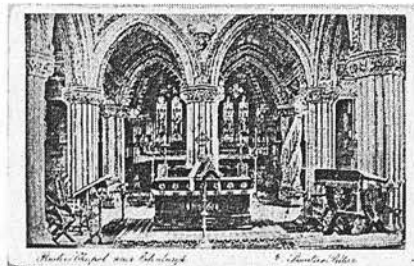
Albumen print glued on thick paper, 8.7 x 13.5cm

Private collection [Maggi-Checchini].



View of the Choir looking west

Inscribed: 'Roslin Chapel near Edinburgh looking'
 Albumen print glued on thick paper, 8.7 x 13.5cm
 Private Collection [Maggi-Checchini].

**ANONYMOUS**

Two other anonymous photographs from a London private collection represent two different moments of the history of the building. The first captures the 1862 Christmas decoration of the Choir and shows a portative organ on the west wall introduced for the occasion. The second image shows the Choir after the insertion of a new organ in 1872.

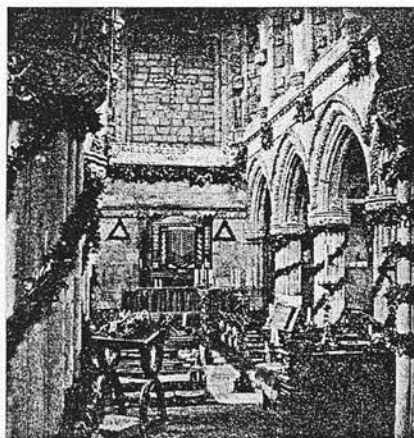
[118] Photographs in a Private Collection in London.

118.1

1862

Rosslyn Chapel decorated for Christmas 1862

Contemporary photograph from original albumen print,
 12.9 x 12.1cm
 R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2361/B.
 Private Collection [Gerald Cobb, London].

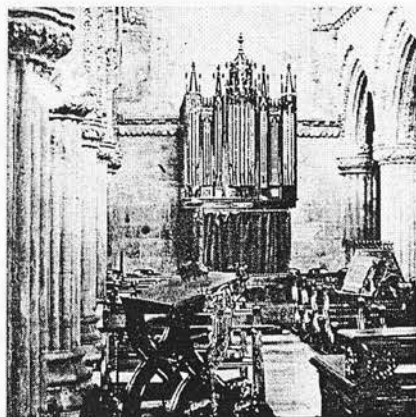


118.2

c.1872

Choir after the insertion of a new organ

Contemporary photograph from original albumen print,
 14.5 x 14.5cm
 R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2362/A.
 Private Collection [Gerald Cobb, London].



JOHN THOMSON 1825-1881

Thomson was the factor (or steward) of the Earl's of Rosslyn estate in Scotland and custodian of the Chapel. He lived in College Hill House adjoining the Chapel. Thomson was an expert photographer and the sale of his pictures contributed to the revenue of the Chapel. His albumen prints are similar to George Washington Wilson's photographs though they did not achieve the quality and technical excellence of the famous Aberdeen commercial photographer. Few of his images are preserved in the Roslin Album at the R.C.A.H.M.S. and in a rare copy of Cuthbert Beed's *Visitors' handbook to Rosslyn and Hawthornden* in the National Library of Scotland.

[119] Photographs in the *Roslin Album* by Thomson.

This photograph album was probably compiled by Hezekiah Merrick of Erskill House, Roslin, owner of the Roslin Gunpowder Mills. It includes several photographs of Rosslyn Chapel commissioned by Merrick from Thomson in 1862. The album itself contains 12 albumen prints of the Chapel. Only two – the most representative [cat.119.1 and 119.2] – are here illustrated, the remaining items attributed to Thomson are recorded in the following list:

Interior from the Choir, 11 x 16cm

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, p.7.

View from South Aisle, 11 x 16.5cm

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, p.8.

View from South Aisle with open door, 11 x 16cm

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, p.9.

View from the North Aisle looking towards Mason's Pillar, 10.8 x 15.5cm

Inscribed with pencil bottom page: 'Carved Pillar was discovered during restoration only upper courses were carved & Baxter carved remainder. I got Thomson to take this photo for me. H.M. / I consider it the handsomest Pillar in the Chapel'

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, p.12.

View of the Choir ceiling, 16.3 x 11.2cm

Inscribed with pencil bottom page: 'Roof of Roslin Chapel'

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, p.13.

View from the North Aisle looking towards Mason's Pillar, 11 x 16.7cm

Inscribed with pencil bottom page: 'Pillar encrusted with lime and handsomest pillar in the Chapel (same pillar as that discussed in the inscription on p.12 of the album)'

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, p.14.

View of the exterior from North East, 11.3 x 16.3cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, p.31.

View of Choir, 11.5 x 16.4cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, p.36.

View of the exterior from South East, 11.7 x 17.6cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, p.37.

View of the Apprentice Pillar, 9.5 x 7.6cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, bottom right p.42.

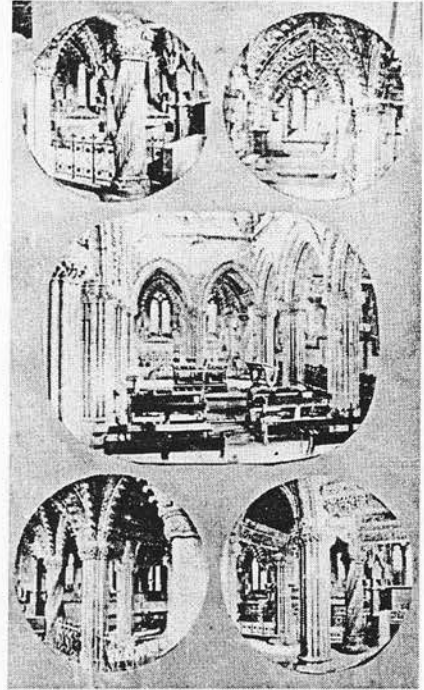
View of the Choir, 11.3 x 16.3cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, p.43.

119.1

c.1870

Five miniature albumen prints in the Roslin Album

Albumen print, 9.5 x 6cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, centre p.42.



119.2

1862

Rosslyn Chapel decorated for Christmas 1862

Albumen print, 11 x 16.5cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference, Merrick album n.53, f.10.

[note] This image, taken at Christmas 1862, represents a charming interior view of the nave with all the piers decorated with holly leaves repeating the Apprentice Pillar motive.



[120] Photographs by Thomson in Cuthbert Bede's *Visitors' handbook to Rosslyn and Hawthornden*.

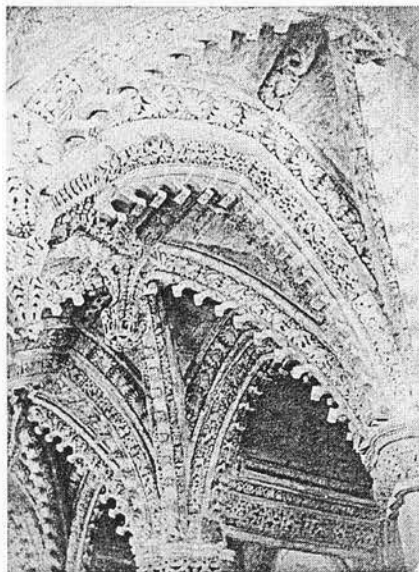
120.1

c.1870

Detail of the Ceiling of the Lady Chapel

Albumen print, 10.5 x 7.5cm

Book reference: plate facing frontispiece.



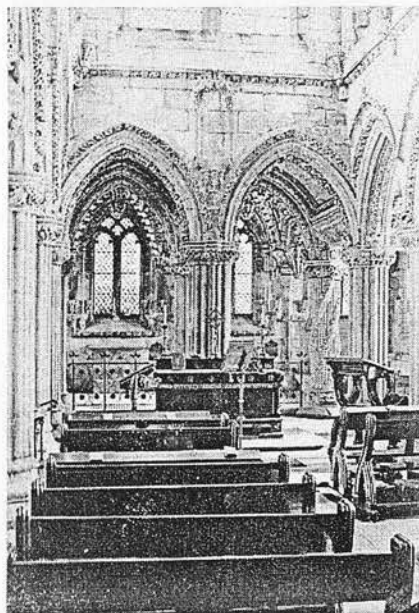
120.2

c.1870

Interior view of the Choir, looking east

Albumen print, 10.8 x 7.6cm

Book reference: plate facing p.5.



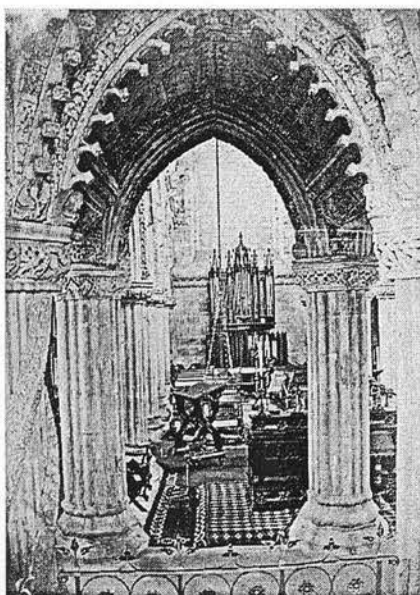
120.3

c.1870

View of the Choir after the insertion of the organ in 1872, before the building of the baptistery

Albumen print, 10.7 x 7.6cm

Book reference: plate facing p.8.



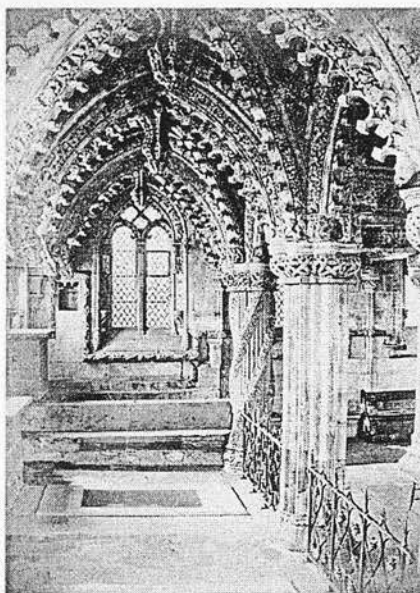
120.4

c.1870

View of the Lady Chapel, looking south

Albumen print, 10.7 x 7.6cm

Book reference: plate facing p.13.



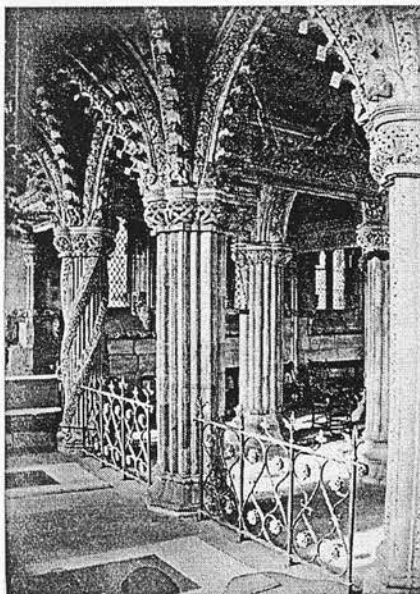
120.5

c.1870

View of the three piers at the east end

Albumen print, 10.9 x 7.6cm

Book reference: plate facing p.16.



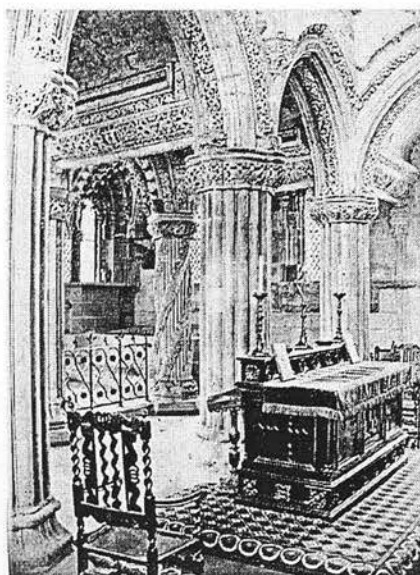
120.6

c.1870

View of the altar in the Choir

Albumen print, 10.1 x 7.2cm

Book reference: plate facing p.20.



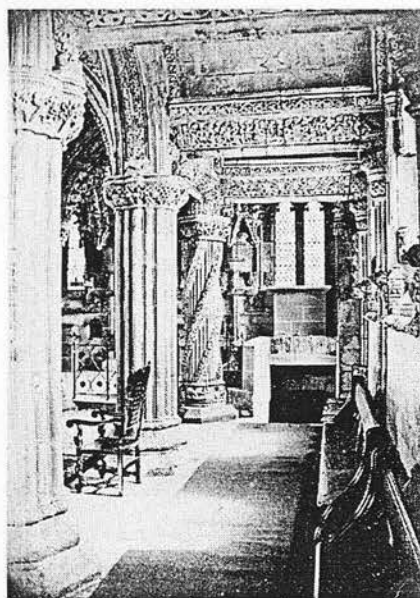
120.7

c.1870

View of the south aisle, looking east

Albumen print, 10.5 x 7.6cm

Book reference: plate facing p.24.



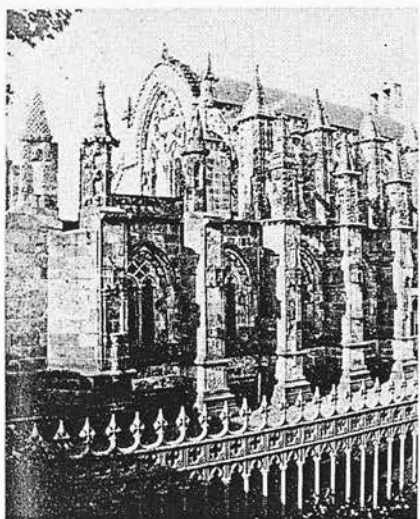
120.8

c.1870

Exterior view of the east end and the north side of the Chapel

Albumen print, 9.6 x 7.6cm

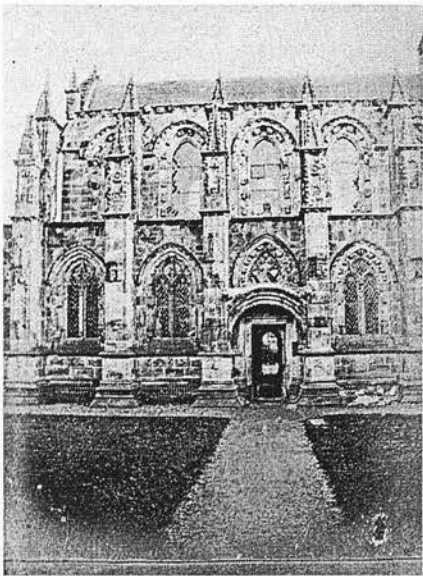
Book reference: plate facing p.34.



120.9 c.1870

View of the north entrance to the Chapel

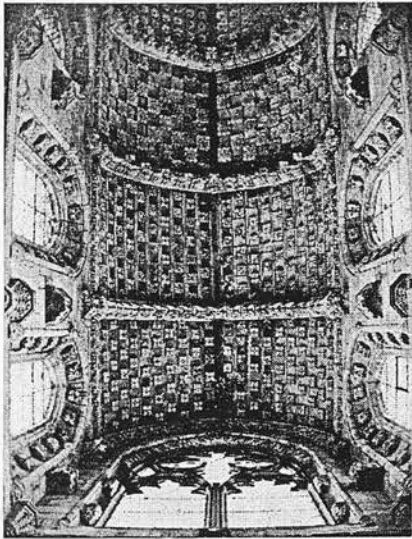
Albumen print, 10.4 x 7.6cm
Book reference: plate facing p.46.



120.10 c.1870

View of the ceiling of the Choir

Albumen print, 9.1 x 7.6cm
Book reference: plate facing p.48.



ALEXANDER ADAM INGLIS *fl.*1881-1914

Inglis was born in Aberdeen in 1847 or 1848. He joined the Edinburgh Photographic Society in 1882. For thirty five years from 1881, he was a professional 'Landscape and Architectural Photographer, based at Rock House, Calton Hill – the house used by Hill & Adamson for their calotype work in 1843-47. The Inglis family continued to work from Rock House, as photographers until 1949. Inglis photographs of the Chapel go beyond a simple statement of past history. Within them there is a broad sense of time and emotion.

[121] Photographs by Inglis in the Scottish Colorfoto Lab. Collection, Edinburgh.

121.1

c.1880

View of the Chapel from north east

Inscribed with monogram: 'Rosslyn Chapel N.E. 22'
Contemporary photograph from original albumen print,
11 x 15cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2234.

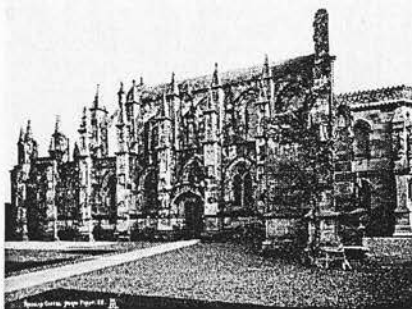


121.2

c.1880

View of the Chapel from north west

Inscribed with monogram: 'Rosslyn Chapel North Front 23'
Contemporary photograph from original albumen print,
11 x 15cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2236.

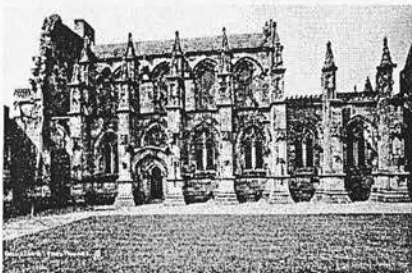


121.3

c.1880

View of the Chapel from south west

Inscribed with monogram: 'Rosslyn Chapel South Front 24'
Contemporary photograph from original albumen print,
11 x 15cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2229.



121.4

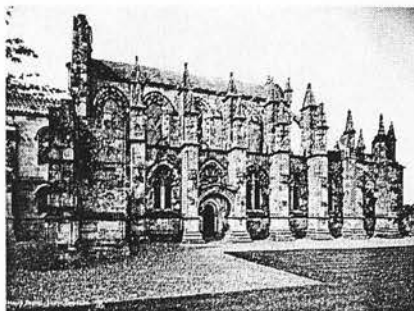
c.1880

View of the Chapel from south

Inscribed with monogram: 'Rosslyn Chapel South Front 25'

Contemporary photograph from original albumen print, 11 x 15cm

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2231.



121.5

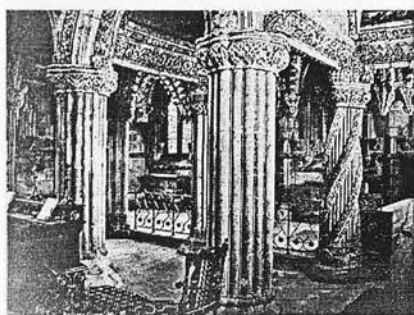
c.1880

View of the Lady Chapel from the south aisle

Inscribed with monogram: 'Rosslyn Chapel. 48'

Contemporary photograph from original albumen print, 13.4. x 17.6cm

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.B66431.



121.6

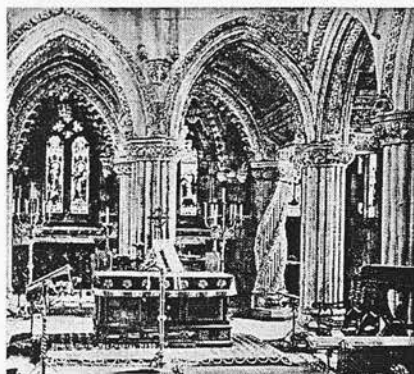
c.1880

View of the Choir looking east

Inscribed with monogram: 'Rosslyn Chapel. The Chancel. 50'

Contemporary photograph from original albumen print, 15.5. x 17.2cm

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2239.



121.7

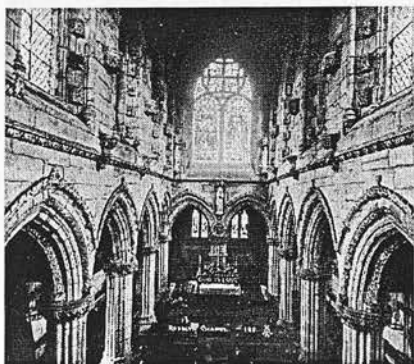
c.1880

View of the Lady Chapel from the south aisle

Inscribed with monogram: 'Rosslyn Chapel. 182'

Contemporary photograph from original albumen print, 15.4. x 17cm

R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2235.

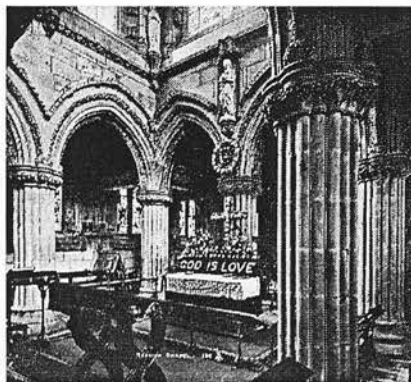


121.8

c.1880

View of the Choir from the south aisle

Inscribed with monogram: 'Rosslyn Chapel. 184'
Contemporary photograph from original albumen print,
16. x 17cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2232.



121.9

c.1880

View of the Choir looking east

Inscribed with monogram: 'Rosslyn Chapel. The Chancel 229'
Contemporary photograph from original albumen print,
14 x 17.5cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2238.

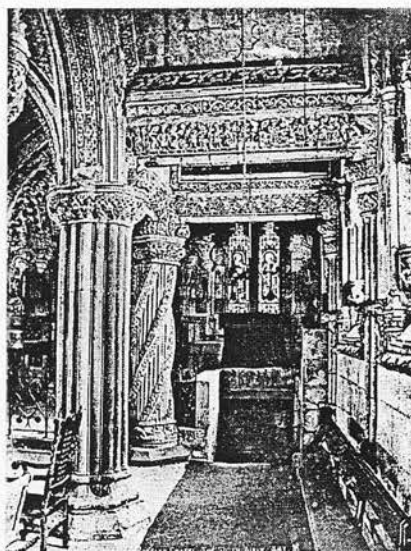


121.10

c.1880

View of the south aisle looking east

Inscribed with monogram: 'Rosslyn Chapel. The South Aisle 441'
Contemporary photograph from original albumen print,
20.5 x 15.5cm
R.C.A.H.M.S. reference: neg.ML/2318.



Addendum

It should be noted that in three instances, drawings which are referred to in the footnotes to chapter 3.2 (footnote 79) and chapter 4.2 (footnotes 35 and 37) are not illustrated in the catalogue. These drawings are:

- (i) A series of small pencil outlines in the 'Dunbar and Edinburgh Sketchbooks' by J.M.W. Turner in the Tate Gallery, London.
- (ii) The three visual notes made by S.J. Nicholl during the lecture given by J. Britton at the RIBA in January 1846. Nicholl made these quick pen drawings on one sheet which is preserved within the written notes he made at the time.
- (iii) Two large folded drawings – one of the pendant boss in the Lady Chapel, the other of three bays from the South elevation -, which are probably images used for lecture purposes and whose origin seems to derive from the printed plates by J.M. Gandy published in 1812 by J. Britton.

From an architectural and archaeological point of view the sketches by Turner contribute nothing significant – beyond their existence – to the concept of the catalogue. The lecture notes and diagrams appear in the footnotes for quite different reasons to those that form the basis of this catalogue and have therefore been excluded.

Catalogue of the items in the album: 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel'

The album entitled 'Documents Relating to Roslin Chapel', which came to light during research for the Rosslyn exhibition at the National Gallery of Scotland last spring, is one of the very few known collection of papers related to the Scottish Collegiate Church to have survived by John Britton. The book itself has fifty seven leaves. It includes drawings and engravings bound in the volume, measuring from 33.5x25 to 38x25 centimetres on which letters sent to Britton and original drawings are glued to the inner edge in a precise manner. Nearly every sheet has one or more documents attached to it. There is no written evidence in the volume of Britton having been the owner of this collection, but we can easily assume, since he was the recipient of most or indeed all of the letters, that it was he or someone for him who collated the material. Every page in the volume refers to Britton's involvement with Rosslyn: the publication of the plates of the Chapel for *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* in 1812 and a lecture on the building itself given in London at the Royal Institute of British Architects in January 1846.

Dimensions are given in centimetres, height before width. For the letters the measurements refer to the average size of the leaves. With prints, the size of the plate-mark is given first, followed by the overall measurement of the sheet.

LIST OF ITEMS (folio and brief description)

Inside cover

Bookplate of Hon. Sir Hew Darlymple.

9.5x8

Coat of Arms and Motto: Firm

Inside cover

Sale reference probably from an auction.

4x6.4

'854. Roslin Chapel - Interesting Collection of MSS (1806-1846) relating to the History and the Structure of Roslin Chapel comprising extensive Autograph Letters (4) by *David Roberts*, *Joseph Gandy*, folio 2pp. *George M. Kemp* folio 4 pp. with a sectional sketch. *David Irving* (2), *William Burn* (1), *John Dundas* and notes probably by *John Britton*; accompanied by 46 original sketches (a few signed by Gandy) and engravings Bound in folio volume, calf.'

- 1 John Slezer, *Capella de Rosslin. The Chappell of Rosslin*. Engraving from, *Teatrum Scotiae* 1693.

27x41.5; 36.5x45

The engraving represents the South side of the Chapel, with dedication inscribed on the top right. (Note in the typescript list: 'Of the two copies in the Antiquaries' Library, the 1718 edition bears this dedication').

- 2 Letter to John Britton, signed Joseph Michael Gandy, dated 17 December 1806.

25x19

Reports discovery in Astle Thomas (1735-1803), *An Account of the Seals of the Kings, Royal Boroughs, and Magnates of Scotland*, London 1792, of the seal of Sir William de St.Clare, 6th Baron of Rosslyn, in a charter of confirmation from Alexander III. Legend of Seal the same as that spelt out on shields along the South cornice [it should be the North cornice]. Slezer's view 'the most correct', but defective in placing and proportion of some of the ornament, which should conform to the height of the masonry from bed to bed.

- 3 Beginning of a lecture (RIBA Lecture, 12 January 1846), acknowledging Sir Walter Scott's help and continuing with a few lines of the Mason's Charter transcribed into Mode English. Written by John Britton's secretary but apparently not used.

31x20.5

'Specimen in the pointed style: particularly the abbey church of Melrose, and Roslin Chapel – both of which are rendered familiar to the general reader by the fascinating pen of Sir Walter Scott. The latter building is one of the singularities of Christian Architecture, and to Sir Walter I am indebted for the communication of some curios documents illustrative of its origin and history.'

- 4 David Roberts explanatory notes from Sir Walter [Scott] notes to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

23x18.5

For this see Walter Scott, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Note XXII to canto Sixth.

- 5.1 David Roberts, *Section of the Chancel of Roslin Chapel*, ink drawing on paper.
23x17.5
[see cat.34.2]
- 5.2 David Roberts, *Ground plan of the Chancel. Roslin Chapel from Gandy's plan. Plate II Roslin Chapel*, ink drawing on paper.
23x17.5
[see cat.34.3]
- 5.2 David Roberts, *Termination of the groin[ed] arch, in the south aisle of Roslin Chapel*, ink drawing on paper.
23x17.5
[see cat.34.4]
- 6 Letter to John Britton signed David Roberts, dated 19 January 1846.
18x22.5
This shorter and more conciliatory version of item 22 in the album reports a reply from Burn, whose 'Generous offer to bring the matter before the RIBA at its next meeting.' Roberts writes: 'In the few tight hints I threw out to you respecting the alteration from the original design in the East Wall o Roslin Chapel- and which you took an opportunity of alluding to in your lecture at the Institute on Monday last. I must confess I was not a little annoyed at that positive manner in which Mr Burn asserted his belief that its present appearance was part of the original design'.
- 7 Letter to John Britton on double foolscap signed George Meikle Kemp, dated 7 August 1839.
33.5x42
[see cat.21.1]
Kemp acknowledges for a letter received 25 July 1839 asking for details of the flat arches over the side-aisles. He has found all in order on his last visit, and work in progress under William Burn. The second side contains 3 diagrams:
i) Horizontal section through a flat arch.
ii) Lateral section trough ditto, showing cross-section through chapel.
iii) Cross-section through ditto, showing lateral section through aisle.
These show a deep channel cut in the top of each flat arch, in which remain traces of a tie-rod embedded in wood. Note written by J.R.T. (Thompson, curator of the Chapel) with some vague criticism.
Britton makes use of Kemp's own words for his lecture. There are many pencil notes of what he uses: 'The section across the side aisles and a compartment of a Longitudinal section, will seem to explain and illustrate the construction of this unique portion of the corpus', (see 17). The date of Edward Cresy's publication (1839) corresponds with the date of this letter and the similarity with Cresy's section demonstrates that the outline drawing on which Kemp adds his own notes was traced from the recently published plate.
The letter runs as follows:

'My Dear Sir,
I received your letter on Monday morning the 25th but as the information you required regarding the construction of the strength arches in the south aisle of Roslin chapel and were a mystery to myself. I went out immediately to Roslin Chapel, which for the last two years has been undergoing a complete repair under Mr Burn Architect, with the assistance of two workmen I examined one of these flat arches and the result has been I think satisfactory, as the

whole of the arches are in such a perfect preservation, that I have heard professional men affirm that they were of one stone, and acted as a tye, and that the joints.

With the aid of a section across the side aisles and a compartment of a Longitudinal section, I expect you will perfectly understand the method of construction, adopted by the Ancients, in these arches which I believe as hitherto been a mystery.

Flat arch in the Aisle of Roslin Chapel

Fig.1, Plan at AA in Section Fig.2

Fig.2, Section from North to South at AA in Plan

Fig.3, Section from East to West at a, b Fig.2

in the section AA. B is a groove $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, which has by all appearance been filled with wooden beam; CC is two of the iron bats which still remain in their original place, they are dovetailed into the arch stones with lead, the large rivets are still on through where ends; which have clenched the wood and arch stones together, D is a horizontal iron beam; a considerable part of it, still remains in each end of the groove dovetailed into the stone with lead, as the Chapel has been for nearly two hundred years in ruinous state and the Hollows between the roofs at the side aisle marked M being filled with rubbish, it may account for the wood having entirely disappeared. I am of the opinion that some of the horizontal iron bars marked D must be still entire, and still acting as a tye, I cannot believe it possible that the clerestory wall although loaded with heavy vault[s], could long resist the pressure of two arches so very flat, G.G.G. [respectively in Fig. 1, 2 and 3] shows how the stones of the flat arches have been ... wried (?) ... with stone dowels, E shows the beam beautiful ridge stones which crowned the roof of each side aisle, the vault had been covered with very thick lead; fragments of which were found during the late repairs; F marks the course of the drain that conveyed the water from the side aisle roofs.

As I had to e from home yesterday, I am sorry that I have detained this letter a day longer then intended, so I must leave the subject to your longer experience and better judgement.'

- 8 Letter to John Britton on black-edged paper signed David Irving, dated 23 December 1845.

18x11.3

Quote from John Spottiswood, 'A Account of all the Religious Houses, that were in Scotland at the time of the Reformation', Edinburgh 1755, in Rev. Robert Keith, *An Historical Account of the Scottish Bishops down to the year 1688*, (rev edition by M. Russel) Edinburgh 1824, p.471. He also refers to a particular description in Sir Walter Scott's *Provincial Antiquities* by the architect Edward Blore.

- 9 Letter to John Britton signed David Irving, black edged paper, dated 12 January 1846.

18x11.3

Many years since last visit, when some repairs had been finished and an old woman in charge. Two monuments, to Earl of Caithness and a Knight.

- 10 Letter to John Britton, signed William Burn, dated 27 December 1845.

20x12

'I also send you Sir Walter Scott's *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland*, the only one of the books you mention which I have.'

- 11 Letter to William Burn, signed John Dundas, dated 7 January 1846.

19x23

'Neither Laing nor Macdonald (see 19) have suggested anything except Spotiswoodes and Slezer. No ancient titles of Roslin extant. A 'crambe record' of Hay published in *The Edinburgh Magazine* January 1761. He was the author of the '24 Buried Barons clad in

Panoply of Mail', a fable which you lived to disprove as you may remember on the late Earl's funeral. 'Two or three good stone drawings by Schwarbreck' of 4 or 5 years before. All these in Lord Rosslyn's possession.'

- 12 Letter to John Britton signed David Roberts, dated 2 February 1846.
18.5x23
'My Dear Britton You are a s---y fellow'. Neither John Britton nor Burn had turned up at the RIBA for the show-down' 'While I was on my legs I endeavour to place the ODIUM of burying all these Barons in armour, instead of respectable wooden coffins, on the right shoulder, viz., that of Father Hay, and not at all an invention of Sir Walter Scott'. Torchlight offered as the explanation of '*Blazed Battlement and Pinnet High*' (The supernatural illumination of the Chapel on the death of St.Claire) Support for Fowler's theory that the E.chapel was used as the burial place and plundered at the Reformation. Copy probably enclosed of Sir Walter Scott's notes to the Lay of the Last Minstrel, in connection with the 'Buried Barons' (see 4).
- 13 Copies sent to John Britton by Sir Walter Scott of 2 versions of the Mason's Charter of 1630, after Hay's MSS.
30.5x18.5
- 14 Copies sent to John Britton by Sir Walter Scott of 2 versions of the Mason's Charter of 1630, after Hay's MSS.
30.5x37
- 15 Letter to John Britton signed William Burn, dated 7 January 1846.
20x24.5
Discussion of the famous burial vault. Account of recent visit to the Chapel and the excavation of the floor. Also the discovery of a St Claire Vault under the North aisle, containing oak coffins. Incorporated in John Britton's lecture.
- 16 Tales-Fables-Romances. Extracts from the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* to illustrate the fictions and fallacies of poetry.
Two separate leaves, 23x13.5; 23x13
The text is written by Britton's secretary who confuses the title of the poem with the *Lady of the Lake*.
- 17 Roslin Chapel- remarks by Kemp referring to his sketches (see 7).
29x45
'The section across the side aisle, and a compartment of longitudinal section, will serve to explain and illustrate the construction of this unique portion of the edifice. In the section (Fig.2) B. is a groove 8 1/2 inches square which has to all appearance been filled with a wooden beam. - C.C. are two of the iron buts which still remain in the original places; - they are dovetailed into the arch stones with lead; - the larger rivets are still on their upper ends, which have clenched the wood and arch stones together. D is a horizontal iron bar, a considerable part of which still remains in each end of the groove, dovetailed into the stone work with lead.'
- 18 Review of *Memoir of John Aubrey* by John Britton in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Volume XXV, January 1846, pp.3,4.

28.2x22.8

Note in Britton's own hand on the back of a copy of the review: 'But instead of the vast architectural planet, the cathedral, I will confine myself to one of its satellites, ... the Chapel of Roslyn'.

The review runs as follows:

'Often as we have turned over the pages of Mr Britton many beautiful works of ecclesiastical antiquity, we have never left them without feeling a more profound respect for the deep scientific learning, and the bold creative genius of the great builders of those noble cathedrals, and other almost equally magnificent churches of religious edifices spread over our country; which not only surprise by depth of the principles on which they were founded, but seem also to defy imitation in the beauty with which they were executed. It is useless to attempt to draw comparisons as to the respective excellence of the Heathen temple and the Christian church, abstracted from the purposes for which they were framed, the localities in which they were placed, and the people by whom they were erected. All art branches out into beauties of different kinds, radiating from one central form of admitted excellence, and directed and led by the hand of genius to the new modifications adapted to the demands of increasing knowledge. The simple majesty of the Parthenon, and the severe grandeur of those massive temples which rise in all their marble splendour on the myrtle plains of Peastum, can no more be placed in the scale of comparative excellence with the very different structure of the medieval ages, with the dark and mysterious sublimity of the cathedrals of Seville, or those scarcely less noble structures whose grey towers are reflected in the waters of the Avon or the Thames, than the graceful beauty of the Italian palm-tree could be with the robust majesty of the British oak. Each has its own principles of form, and its own results of beauty. But this observation may be made, that the splendour and surpassing excellence of what is called the architecture of the Norman ages, is more astonishing than that of the Greeks; because it appeared to arise in solitary growth, unaccompanied by the equal progress of the kindred arts, and emerging as it were from the dark and barren womb of the periods that had long preceded it; whereas the Muse of Greece, who presided over the architecture of that enchanted land, was attended by all her sister-band, eager and able to decorate the structures she had raised, and to give to the primeval types of abstract power and wisdom, on earthly form of grandeur and beauty worthy of the august abodes which had been raised by mortal hands for their awful sojourn upon earth'.

- 19 Letter to Willaim Burn, signed John Dundas, dated 25 December 1845.
19x23
'I have enlisted two, most zealous literary friends in the cause.'
- 20 Joseph Michael Gandy, *Elevation of trefoil in ink and pencil construction*, 1' scale.
20.5x15.2
[see cat.9.11]
- 21 Notes taken by John Britton for his Lecture.
p.1 (20x22), p.2 (28x22), p.3 (26x45), p.4 (28x22), p.5 (25.5x20.5), paper glued on p.5 (10.5x22.5), p.6 (15x23.2).
- 22 Letter to John Britton signed David Roberts, dated 16 January 1846.
32x22
Pleasure at having attended Britton's lecture and thanks for acknowledging his theory about the east end (see 23). 'But on the other hand Mr. Burn one of your distinguished members ... gave it his unqualified contradiction ... Evidence in its favour both inside and outside the building.' This letter may have been sent to Burn.

- 23 Letter to John Britton signed David Roberts, 8 January 1846.
18.4x23
Accepts invitation to John Britton's address at the RIBA. 'Pray do not forget to notice that remarkable feature; the entire East end has been removed about two feet for the purpose of widening the channel ... hence the substitution of these clumsy though picturesque-looking corbels for the pilasters Diagram of the diagonal filling in of a corner provides further proof: Lord Rosslyn has admirably preserved the chapel, but the opening up of the East window with a twice magnified version of a side window 'destroys the Rembrandtish effect'. General remarks: the beautiful harmony of its parts as a whole.' Three sketches are enclosed to illustrate the points (see 5.1, 5.2, 5.3).
- 24 Britton's notes for his lecture. Written by secretary, alterations by John Britton).
7 leaves (23x13.5)
'My lecture a response to the exhortations of the Institute and an example to those who would be enterprising. Apology and compliments to the Architectural profession. Survey of sacred buildings through Egypt, Greece, and Rome to the Gothic Cathedral, culmination of the series.' In his acknowledgements Britton pays attention to:
Dr.Irving; John Dundas; William Burn; David RobertsEdward Cresy; John Thompson; and the late Mr.Kemp.
- 25 John. R. Thompson, *Section of Roslyn Chapel with a geometrical projection based upon a circle*, watercolour and pen, Inscribed E. Cresy Inv.¹ and J.R.Thompson del.¹, dated 1840.
35.5x42
The outline of the section corresponds to plate 68 published by Edward Cresy in *A Practical treatise on Bridge building and on the equilibrium of Vaults and Arches*, London 1839. A copy of Cresy's *Roslyn Chapel Section through the Nave* is contained in the this album, see leave 51. Andrew Kerr in the *Proceedings* (1877) will develop the same concept without acknowledging the authors, see Plate XII. He writes at p.226 of his essay: 'A geometrical figure based upon a circle, the diameter equal to the width of the building, applies to the section, defining not only the proportion, cut the construction of the edifice'.
- 26 Joseph Michael Gandy, *Plan of Roslin Chapel*, pen and grey wash, about 1/7' scale numbered as 33, cut for binding.
30x22.5
[see cat.9.1]
- 26bis *Ibid.* Missing part of the plan. Pen and grey wash.
28.3x20.8
[see cat.9.2]
On both these drawings there are evident signs of the perspective construction lines for Gandy's *Interior view of Roslin Chapel* presented at the Royal Academy in London in 1809.
- 27 Joseph Michael Gandy, *Elevation of the interior of the East wall*, about 1/2' scale, cut for binding. Pencil drawing.
31x24
[see cat.9.8]

- 28 Joseph Michael Gandy, *Elevation of trefoil window over North door, with half-elevation of window to right*, 1' scale, cut for binding. Pen over pencil drawing. 30.5x23.2
[see cat.9.12]
- 28bis *Ibid.*
30.5x21.9
[see cat.9.12 bis]
- 29 Engraved proof copy of the Plan of Roslin Chapel for Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* (1812) to about 1/12' scale with some alterations and notes by Gandy and Britton.
Non regular edges (30x22 approx.)
- 30 Joseph Michael Gandy, *Plan of the Crypt of Roslin Chapel*, about 1/4' scale. Pen and grey wash.
30x23.5
[see cat.9.10]
- 31 Joseph Michael Gandy, *Measured drawing of the Elevation of the Interior East end wall*, about 1/2' scale, cut for binding. Pencil survey drawing.
31x24.5
[see cat.9.9]
- 32 *Elevation of the South Side* probably by Gandy, about 1/12' scale. Pencil drawing (very light)
15.7x20
[not in the catalogue]
- 33 *Plan and East End elevation traced from Gandy's Roslin Sketchbook on scrap of browned paper*, the parts are numbered for identification as in the original collection of survey drawings kept in the Soane Museum. Pen over brown waxed tracing paper.
16.5x12 approx.
[see cat.9.7]
- 34 Joseph Michael Gandy, *Elevation of West end*, ink over pencil, about 1/12' scale.
16x21.5
[see cat.9.6]
Comparison with the sketch in the Gandy's survey at the Sir John Soane Museum.
- 35 Letter to John Britton signed James Fergusson, dated 28 September 1855.
18.2x23
It would be a puzzle without a good deal of reading up to put my case for the affiliation of

Roslyn Chapel in a form that would hold good in a Court of Justice. Best authorities: Villa Amil's 'Espagne Pittoresque' and the 'Moyen Age, Pittoresque et Monumentale'. Relen Chapel (Lisbon) bears 'a striking resemblance'. The idea had risen when Fergusson had seen a portfolio of Spanish sketches. James Fergusson, in *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, London 1855, Volume II, p.906, writes few notes on Roslin Chapel. Fergusson's notes on Rosslyn run as follow:

'Few of the Architectural antiquities of Scotland are so well known, or have been so much admired, as the chapel at Roslyn, which William St. Clair caused to be erected in the year 1446. For this purpose he did not employ his countrymen, but "brought artificers from other regions and forraigne kingdomes," and employed them to erect a building very unlike anything else to be found in Great Britain.

From the knowledge we now have of styles, there can be little doubt that his architects came from the north of Spain. In fact, there is no detail or ornament in the whole building which may not be traced back to Burgos or Oviedo; though there is a certain clumsiness both in the carving and construction that betrays the workmanship of persons but little familiar with the task they were employed upon. The chapel is small, only 68 ft. by 35, internally. The central aisle is only 15 ft wide, and has the southern peculiarity of a tunnel-vault with only transverse ribs such as those found at Fontfroide (woodcut N.477), and in almost all the old churches of the south of France. At Roslyn, between these ornaments, which were painted in the earlier examples, are carved in relief. The vault, as in the south, is a true roof, the covering slabs being laid directly on the extrados or outside of the vault, without the intervention of any wood, a circumstance to which the chapel owes its preservation to the present day. Beyond the upper chapel is a sub-chapel (woodcut N.732), displaying the same mode of vaulting in a simpler form, but equally foreign and unlike the usual form of vaults in Scotland.'

- 36 Joseph Michael Gandy, (1) *Elevation and sections of columns*. Ink over pencil.
16.5x21.5
[see cat.9.3]

J.M.Gandy, (2) *Exterior cresting and moulding section; piscina plan and elevation*. Ink over pencil.
16.5x21.5
[see cat.9.4]

These drawings can easily be attributed to Gandy for style, numbering and many similarities contained in the Roslin Sketchbook. Both to scale 1'.

- 37 Joseph Michael Gandy, *Elevation of the South wall*, about 1/18' scale. Pencil measured drawing.
15.7x20
[see cat.9.5]
The drawing is inscribed 'Roslyn Chapel by Gandy'.

- 38 J.A.Bell del., J.C.Bentley, *Roslyn Chapel*, Engraving (unknown source and date).
9.5x13.5
[see cat.83]
The engravings represents the Retro-choir of the Chapel, with a note below by John Britton. 'Copied from Britton's Antiquities without permission'. The figure in the East end is Sir Walter Scott.

- 39 J. Gellatly, *Rosslyn Castle – ante 1700*, Engraving published in Richard Augustine Hay, *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn* (Edinburgh, 1835).
24x40
[see cat.78.1]
- 40 J. Gellatly, *Rosslyn Church – ante 1700*. Ibid.
24x40, same as above
[see cat.78.1]
- 41 J. Gellatly, *Rosslyn Church – ante 1700*, West end. Ibid.
24x40
[see cat.78.2]
- 42 Engraving from Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* published by Longmans, 1810.
One of the 3 copies of plate XIV
20.5x29.5; 25.5x34.
[see cat.68.14]
- 43 *Ibid.*
- 44 *Ibid.*
- 45 Engraving from Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* published by Longmans, 1810.
One of the 2 copies of plate XIII
20.5x29.5; 25.5x34.
[see cat.68.13]
- 46 *Ibid.*
- 47 Engraving from Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* published by Longmans, 1810.
One of the 3 copies of plate XII
20.5x29.5; 25.5x34.
[see cat.68.12]
- 48 Engraving from Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* published by Longmans, 1810.
1 copy of plate XI (printed XVI)
20.5x29.5; 25.5x34.
[see cat.68.11]

- 49 Engraving from Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* published by Longmans, 1810.
One of the 3 copies of plate XII
20.5x29.5; 25.5x34.
[see cat.68.12]
- 50 Engraving from Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* published by Longmans, 1810.
1 copy of plate X
20.5x29.5; 25.5x34.
[see cat.68.10]
- 51 Edward Cresy, *Roslyn Chapel Section through the Nave* from *A Practical treatise on Bridge building and on the equilibrium of Vaults and Arches*, London 1839, plate 68. Engraving.
30.5x42.5
[see cat.82]
- 52 Account of the journey of Queen Victoria and her consort in Scotland and Ireland, see Arthur Helps (ed.), *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands from 1848 to 1861 to which are prefixed and added extracts from the same journal giving an account of the earlier visits to Scotland and tours in England and Ireland, and Yachting Excursions*, London 1868, chapter XXV, pp.452-484.
31.5x25 each page.
- 53 Ensign Erskine Del., D.Blacmore Pyat Sculpt., *Rosline Castle*, engraving.
12.5x17.5
- 54 Engraving of *Roslin Castle* from Francis Grose, pub. by Hooper and Sparrow Sc. (1779)
11.3x17.2
The lower edges of the engraving are chopped.
- 55 *A view of the Chapel of Roslin from South*, For the Gentleman and Lady's Magazine Vol. III Pl.1
11.3x18
[see cat.64]
Copy from Slezer but in a smaller scale.
- 56 Thomas Higham after G.Arnold, *Roslin Castle*, engraving from the *Antiquarian Itinerary*. Published by W.Clarke, 1815.
14.3x22.5

- 57 I.Graig, *Ornamental pillar (Prentice Pillar) Roslin Chapel*, engraving from the *Antiquarian Itinerary*. Published by W.Clarke, 1815.
10x5
[see cat.69.3]
- 58 Engraving
Pub. January 9th 1798 Hooper and Sparrow Roslin Chapel and Castle.
Missing
- 59 Thomas Higham after Luke Clennell, *Interior of Roslin Chapel, Edinburghshire* (Retro-choir with Prentice Pillar), engraving from the *Antiquarian Itinerary*. Published by W.Clarke, 1815.
6x7.5
[see cat.69.2]
- 60 E.L.Roberts after Luke Clennell, *South Door Roslin Chapel*, engraving from the *Antiquarian Itinerary*. Published by W.Clarke, 1815.
8.5x6
[see cat.69.1]
- 61 J.Greig after Luke Clennell, *Roslin Castle, Pl.3*, engraving from the *Antiquarian Itinerary*. Published by W.Clarke, 1815.
14x22.3
- 62 K.Varrall after G.Arnold, *Roslin Castle, Pl.2*, engraving from the *Antiquarian Itinerary*. Published by W.Clarke, 1815.
17x14
- 63 Front cover of: *Views of Roslin Castle and Chapel from drawings by Turner, Blore, and Thomson of Duddinstone.*